

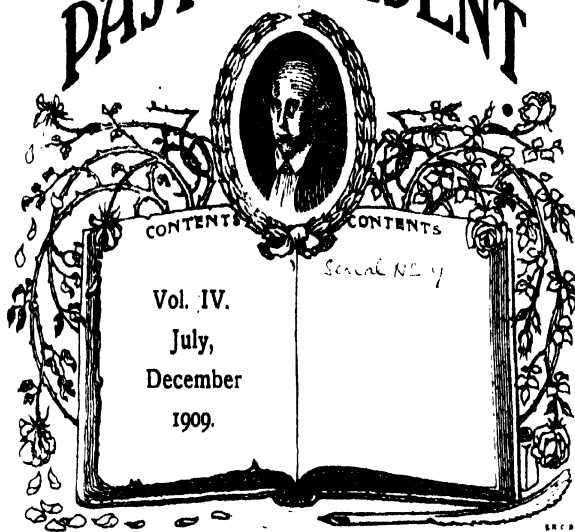
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FOR REFERENCE ONLY



BENGAL

PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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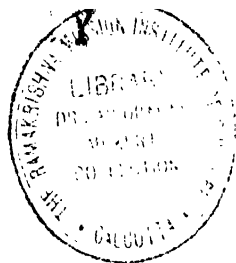
415. Line 10 from top, delete "for."
416. Para. 2. Append footnote. Busted in the latest edition of his *Echoes* (1908) devotes a whole appendix to the subject of Hastings' "Move to Chunar," and shows that the famous couplet cannot apply to that incident.
422. Delete footnote.
487. Line 5 from bottom for "A. P. Downes" *read* "Peter Downes."
- " Line 2 " " delete "possibly."
488. Footnote 16. Delete first sentence and read: "A Swiss officer, who at the Council before Plassey, voted with Clive, and the majority of the Council of war against immediate action." Line 13 of same footnote for "CXVIII" *read* "CXCVIII."
499. Line 1 of Footnote 92. For "previous" *read* "famous."
557. To footnote No. 3 add "C. F. Grand is another case in point."

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Chunar.



THE Fort of Chunar, although not in Bengal, has been closely connected with its history. It is situated on the most northern spur of the Vindhya, which at a point fifty miles west of the Karmnasa, jut out into the Ganges. Its story dates back to the very earliest times of tradition and legend. I would refer the reader to the *Short Guide to Chunar and its Neighbourhood*, for its early history. In this little book are given the various legends regarding the building of the Fort, and I cannot refrain from repeating one of them here, which, if not true, is at least picturesque.

"At some very remote period, when there were Rajas ruling both in Chunar and Ahraurah, a struggle for supremacy arose between the two. To avoid bloodshed, as much as possible, they made a mutual arrangement by which it was agreed that each Raja should build a Fort, that in Chunar, on the hill on which it now stands, that at Ahraurah on a hill called Magan Pahar, and that the Raja who completed his Fort first should be considered to have gained the victory over the other. They further arranged that the signal denoting the completion of the Fort should be the waving of a light from the top of the hill on which the Fort was built, as each could clearly see his opponent's light. Each Raja gathered together as many workmen as he could, and the work began in real earnest. After they had been some time at work, it so happened that one of the Chunar workmen lost his trowel, and searched for it for hours without success; when darkness came on in his anxiety to find his missing tool, he lit a lantern and carried it to and fro in his search. This light was seen on Magan Hill, and taken to be the sign of completion, as agreed upon, so the workers at Ahraurah immediately left their work uncompleted. The foundations and part of the walls are still to be seen at Magan Hill, Ahraurah."

In another legend the founding of the Fort is ascribed to Gira Singh, son of Raja Bhared of the Hindu Dynasty. All these stories are dated 2,000 B.C., which leaves a lapse of 3,000 unrecorded years before the Mahomedans came and took and held the Fort from 1206 till 1333, when, according to an inscription over a gateway of the Fort, it was taken by a certain Swami Raja. It was later re-captured by the Mahomedans in the reign of Babar in 1529. Babar visited it, and records that the vicinity of this fortress was then covered with dense jungle and forest trees, and infested by rhino, elephants

and tigers, which destroyed many of his soldiers, who were reckoned as martyrs, and therefore venerated as saints. Shrines were erected over them, and called after the beasts which killed them. There are 15 of these shrines still standing in the vicinity. In 1532 the great Sher Shah* obtained possession of Chunar by marriage with the daughter of the Chief then in charge. This led to Humayan besieging Sher Shah in the fort in 1536. He captured it after six month's siege. A curious item in this siege was the use of a floating battery on boats, the only instance on the Ganges I have come across except at the reduction of Allahabad in 1857.

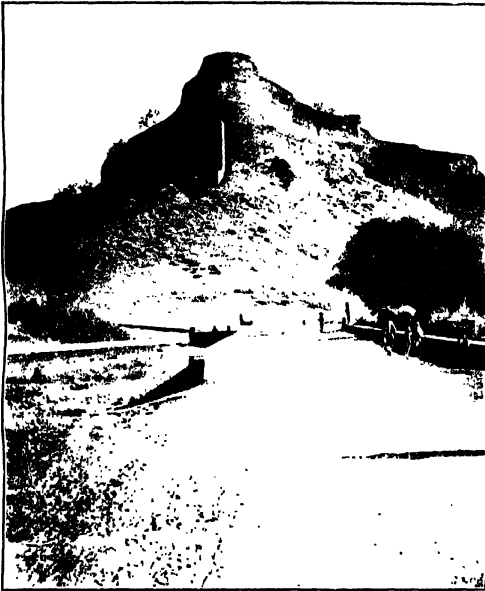
Sher Shah retook the fort in 1539, and it was not till 1575 that the Moghals recovered it, in Akbar's reign. Chunar was then considered the key of Behar and Bengal, and rightly so, as it guarded the only practicable road and the river.

In 1763 as a result of the Patna Massacre and other hostilities on the part of the Vazir Surja-ud-daula and the Emperor Shah Alum, Mr. Vansittart decided to take vigorous action. Major Hector Munro was put in command, and the rival armies met at the Karmnasa, near Buxar, on the 23rd of October 1764. The Company's force gained a decisive victory and Surja-ud-daula fled towards Allahabad leaving the Emperor at Benares. The demands of the British after Buxar were that Sumroo (the cause of the expedition) should be given up, and that the country as far as Benares should be retained by the Company to pay for the expenses (the effect of the expedition). These terms were rejected by Surja to whom they had evidently been forwarded by the Emperor. Although Shah Alum was known to be a mere puppet in the hands of his Vazir Surja-ud-daula, on this occasion he showed some spirit in acting independently, and in trusting himself to the camp of Munro. Here he entered into fresh negotiations, and† eventually on the 29th December 1764, a treaty was signed making over the country west of Ghazipur and the rest of the *Zamindari* of the Raja of Benares (Bulwant Singh), including Chunar, to the East India Company. On the other hand the British engaged to put the Emperor in possession of Allahabad and the other countries belonging to the Nizamat of Surja-ud-daula. It was in this way that Shah Alum used this treaty to pay off old scores on his domineering Vazir.

When the treaty was signed, Munro proceeded towards Allahabad to carry his word into effect, but he found his way barred by the Fort of Chunar.

* Sher Shah died in 1554 due to partial burning while besieging the Fort of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. His supposed mausoleum at Seruram in Bengal, some 250 miles from Kalinjar, would seem to be merely a cenotaph.

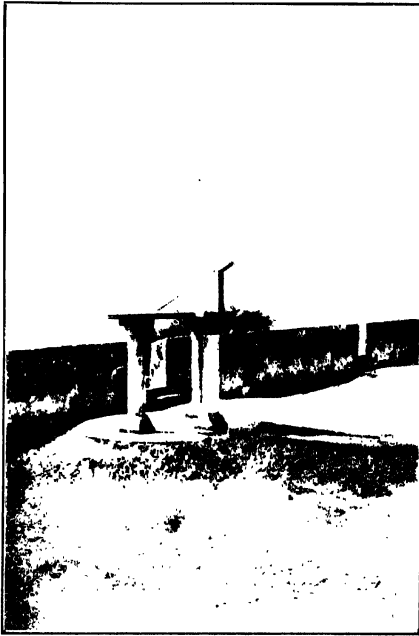
† It is amusing to note that the one point in these negotiations, which could not be agreed on, was the handing over of Sumroo "that base renegade." Perhaps, for very good reasons, the Emperor could not do this on account of Mr. Reinhart being in a too strong position to be interfered with.



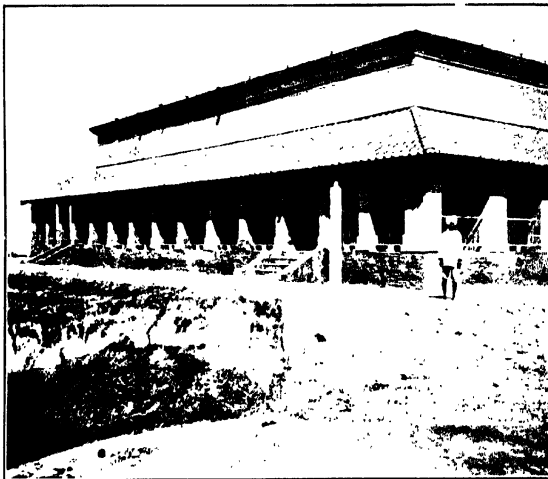
SOUTH END OF CHUNAR FORT SHOWING THE SALLY PORT.
Outside the walls East side



NORTH FACE OF FORT FROM THE GANGES.



WARREN HASTINGS' SUNDIAL.



WARREN HASTINGS' BUNGALOW.

Photo. by Author.

The Fort stands on a very steep isolated hill. The ramparts are strongly protected by towers and bastions, and they vary from 20 to 30 feet in height. The Northern front is protected by the river, above which the greatest height of the fort is 146 feet. The space enclosed by the fort is 776 yards in length from North to South, and the greatest breadth is 240 yards. The circuit of the ramparts is 1,850 yards.

After Akbar's additions had been made, and up to the time of European artillery, Chunar was well nigh impregnable, owing to its elevated position and steep approaches.

Munro's first attack in December 1764 was a failure, for although a practicable breach had been made, on account of the demoralization of his native troops.* The second attack, too, was repulsed. Munro then converted the siege into a blockade and retired with the bulk of his army to Benares, and on the advance of Surja-ud-daula he withdrew all the troops in anticipation of a general action. Munro, however, was disappointed for no action took place and the rival forces remained almost stationary till February next year. In the meantime he had left India after a most meritorious service, and was succeeded by Sir Robert Fletcher.

At the beginning of February, Major Carnac re-opened the siege with a night attack, which was however not successful. He then started to batter the walls from an adjacent hill and made a practicable breach on the south-west quarter, on which the garrison appear to have lost heart and surrendered on the 11th February 1765.

This was the last siege of Chunar. From this date onward till 1781 nothing of interest seems to have taken place. The British made it into a depôt for artillery and ammunition and it was greatly strengthened under the direction of Sir Eyre Coote† in 1779, and again in 1783 when the citadel was built by Colonel William Blair "under the auspices of Warren Hastings."

By treaty, in 1775, the lands around Chunar Fort was formally transferred in full sovereignty to the British by Chait Singh, Raja of Benares, the successor of Balwant Singh. A *Sanad* was given to Chait Singh confirming him in his *Zamindari* and in the civil criminal administration thereof subject to a

* The Sepoys had mutinied once before, and this mutiny which took place during Munro's advance to Buxar was the first mutiny on record. Talboys-Wheeler says that Munro put a stop to it by blowing 20 of the ringleaders from the guns. Carey states that this first mutiny took place at Patna and Monghyr on the 7th and 8th August 1764, a large number of sepoys made their officers prisoners and then absconded with their arms. He quotes Broome as his authority. It is interesting to note, how like the great mutiny, this affair took place, simultaneously in two places far apart.

† There is a bastion on the eastern wall which still bears the inscription "Sir Eyre Coote's Battery, 1779."

tribute of *sicca* Rs. 22,66,180, and on condition of his adopting measures for the welfare and security of the country and the preservation of the peace.

In 1781, however, peace was disturbed, and the celebrated Hastings-Chait Singh affair took place. It is stated that Chait Singh refused or neglected to place at the disposal of the Government a contingent of cavalry to assist in the war in the Carnatic. As this was in direct disobedience to orders Hastings proceeded in person to Benares where he arrived on the 14th August. The Raja's reply to a note of his was found highly unsatisfactory and on this Warren Hastings ordered Mr. Markham, the Resident, to arrest the Raja. The result of this order was a general outburst and the massacre of nearly all the Company's troops then at Benares. The two leaders of this affair then appear to have retired each to his stronghold, Hastings to Chunar and Chait Singh to Latifgarh, a fort about 14 miles from Benares. It was on this hasty retreat that the well known couplet—

*"Ghora par howdah, hathi par zin,
Jaldi bhar gaya Warrin Hastin,"*

came to be used.

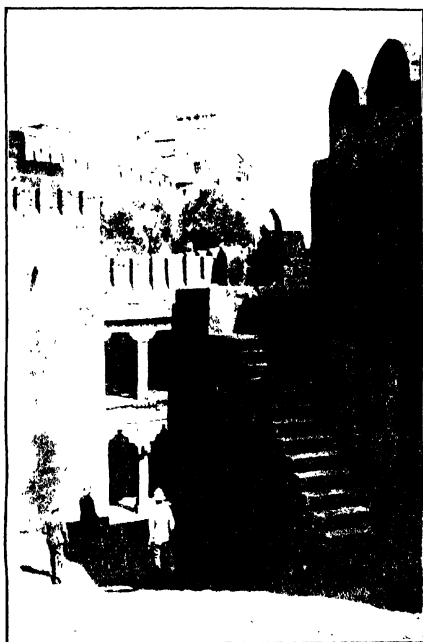
Warren Hastings was in the Fort of Chunar for over a month, but he appears to have been more anxious for the safety of his wife at Bhagalpur than for himself in partial captivity at Chunar.*

From Chunar he collected troops to finally suppress Chait Singh, this being done a series of brilliant little battles and sieges followed, under the command of Major Popham. The engagement before Patihta on 3rd September, the storming of the town on the 20th September, and of Latifgarh itself on the 21st.

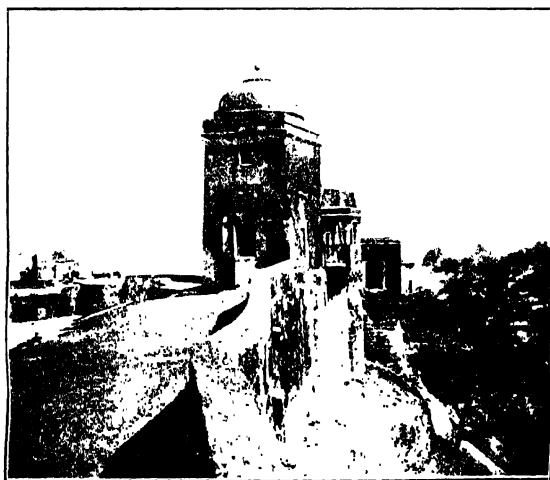
Unfortunately Chait Singh had escaped the day before from Latifgarh, leaving his *zanana* behind him, although a second expedition under Major Crabb was sent to his rear. This force stormed and took the Sukrit Pass on 20th September, about the same time the Raja's seat at Ramnagar was captured, and Hastings returned to Benares on the 25th September. Narain Singh, the grandson of Balwant Singh, was made Raja, and in 1795 the three *Pergannas* of the Mirzapur District were made over to the Raja as family lands and they still remain as such to this day.

With the departure of Warren Hastings, Chunar lapsed into an uneventful career as a cantonment. There was a detachment of British troops there till recent years, and at the time of the Mutiny and previously, it was the quarters of what was known as a Company of European Invalids. At the beginning of the last century, too, there had been a Battalion of Native Invalids commanded by British Officers. When the Mutiny broke out this Company of European Invalids seems to have consisted of Artillerymen only, and they

* Vide letters in Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from old Calcutta*.

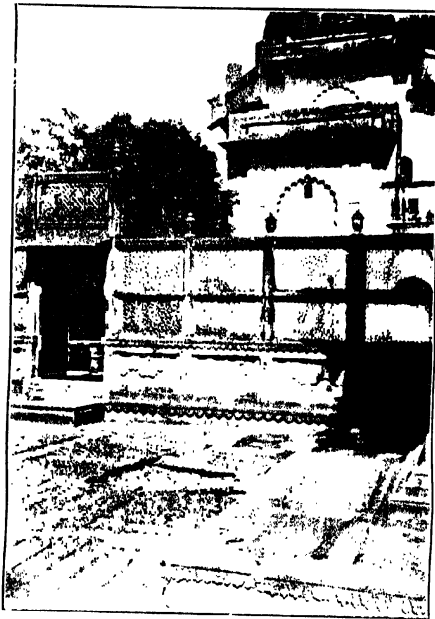


INSIDE THE CURTAIN OF THE EASTERN GATE.
Buildings and Gateway inside Walls.



STATE PRISON ON THE WALLS.

Photo. by Author.



MAIDOMED WASEH'S TOMB, CHUNAR



ENTRANCE TO SHAH KASIM SULAIMAN'S TOMB CHUNAR
Photo, by Author.

were the only European troops near to or in Allahabad. They were sent for to garrison the Fort there, and were 60 in number, the youngest was over fifty years of age, but notwithstanding their age and numbers they stood by ready for duty till Neill's "blue caps" came up from Calcutta.

There are still Mutiny veterans at Chunar and the place has a quiet old world look about it ; indeed it is different from any other town in India as it is the residence of many families of retired Europeans, with no official element. These families live in what was once the cantonment "without the fort," and there are two churches at least. Of the larger houses (of the Officer Commanding the station and other bigwigs) nothing remains but the fine old 18th century gate pillars along the river bank.

Warren Hastings' house, built in 1781, still stands in good repair, although converted into part of the Reformatory for which the Fort is now used. It stands on the highest point within the fort, and was probably commenced during Hastings' stay at Chunar. He was evidently taken with the place as a sundial was "erected by order of the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General, etc., by James S. Ewart, Lieutenant," in front of the house. The view from the fortified terrace round the house is indeed magnificent ; on the north, the Vindhyas with an intervening space of battlement and green trees with the dome of an occasional tomb showing above them ; on the east, the town far below ; and on the west, the Ganges flowing from the low blue hills on the horizon.

There are other interesting old buildings in the fort, some dating back before the first Mahomedan invasion. The fort is very strongly fortified and there are only two gates strongly protected by curtains, and a sally-port, added at the southern extremity by the British. The finest view of fortifications can be obtained from the Rest House, where one can look down on two tiers of battlements and the river below. The lower battlements and towers are built directly out of the rock.

During my visits to Chunar, I have discovered no less than six cemeteries round about, besides isolated graves. The earliest epitaph is in the Fort Cemetery and runs as follows :—

"Here lies the Body of Ensign Hugh Stronack Cameron of Torbatness, County of Ross, North Britain, who departed this life the 21 of October 1782, aged about eighty."

An ensign of eighty seems to have something to do with the slow promotion of those days.

I will quote only two more epitaphs, one to the memory of Lieutenant Edward Vigne, who died, aged 33 years, on 21st July 1816.

"Affliction sore long time he bore
All physic was in vain."

And the other runs as under :—

“ This Monument,
Sacret
To the Memory of
Lieutenant JOHN LLEWELLYN
who died October 16th 1808
Aged 54 years,
was Erected by
His faithful Friend
Flora.”

I wonder who Flora was, perhaps only a housekeeper as many of the other graves testify.*

I must again quote from the *Chunar Guide* in recording a most interesting connection Chunar has with the Black Hole of Calcutta.†

“ At the declivity of a hill about a mile from Chunar, and the same distance from the Ganges, close to the Railway line, near Foolwaria, there is a small mosque to be seen, on the wall of which the following inscription in smudged charcoal is found :—“ This is the place of confinement of Annie Wood (wife of Lieutenant John Wood), taken prisoner by Jaffer Beg, Commandant to Sir Roger Dowlah (*sic*), taken out of the house at Calcutta, where‡ so many unhappy gentlemen suffered. The said Jaffer Beg obtained promotion of Segour Dowler (*sic*), for his long service Faujdar of Chunar Gur. I, Alexander Campbell, was taken, along with the unfortunate lady, at 11 years old, by the same person : my only employment was to attend this lady, which I did in this place for four years. 1762, May 3rd. The said Jaffer Beg sent to

*As two of the cemeteries are somewhat difficult to find and the ravages of time are obliterating the names, I give the names and dates of all the graves still existing.

In the first cemetery on the Mirzapur road :—

Major Thomas Pennyng 1784, Captain Edward Dawson 1785, and Colonel Christian Kundson, commandant of the station, 1793

In the second cemetery :—

Lieutenant-Colonel Monteath 1789, Assistant Surgeon Mr. D. Walkins 1790

Mrs. Emma Maria Clayton, wife of Captain Thos. Clayton, 1793,

Lieutenant James Cheap 1794, Lieutenant Andrew Black 1794,

Lieutenant R. E. Parry 1794, Mrs. Mary Brooke 1795,

Caroline Chartee, Whinyates 1796, Capt. James Pugh 1797,

Mrs. Ann Lloyd, wife of Captain Edwin Lloyd, 1797,

Captain Mark White 1798, Colonel Pat Macdougall 1798,

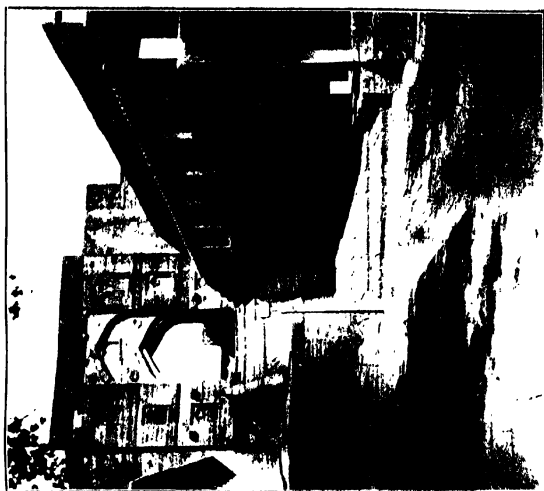
Mary Brumstruph, wife of F. R. Brumstruph, Master of 12th N. R. Ban—1800,

Emily Delaman, daughter of Captain Delman, who died of the small-pox 1801, Lieutenant

Thomas Chawner 1784.

† W. K. Firminger : *The Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus*. Pp. viii—ix.

‡ In the Calcutta Black Hole.



CHUNAR FORT



CHUNAR RIVER VIEW.

(Photos by J. de Cassan.)



ENTRANCE TO CITADEL.



The house in which Mrs. Wood and Alexander Campbell were kept in captivity. Chunar Fort in the distance.

Photo. by Author.

acquaint the lady that if she did not consent to live with him she would be strangled by my hands. At midnight we both escaped in a boat to Chinsurah, where we arrived on the 11th. The first news we heard was that Lieutenant Wood died for grief; as soon as she heard this she fell sick, and died 27th of the month. Mr. Drake behaved with the greatest imprudence; he did deserve to be shot, shot, shot Alexander Campbell. I am now in Daulah's service."

Captain Buckle is the authority for this. I visited the place. It can hardly be described as a mosque. It is a square building consisting of one small room, a second Black Hole.*

Chunar is well worth visiting and is within easy reach of Calcutta. There is a rest house in the Fort high up and overlooking the river, quite an ideal place to stay a couple of days. Not only is there the Fort to be seen but also the tombs of Shah Kasim Salaimani (died 1618), and his son Mahomed Wasil. They are surrounded by magnificent open stone-work screens.† There is also a very fine gateway. These were visited by Lord Curzon.

A. F. C. DE COSSON.



* It measures 9 feet 5 inches by 8 feet 9 inches by 7 feet 9 inches high. There is only one opening; the inscription mentioned no longer exists. The Mr. Drake mentioned was of course the Governor at the time Calcutta was taken. I do not think there are two opinions as to his conduct in 1757.

The Chandernagore Papers

1778—1783.

Selection No. 1.

No. 1.

1778 O. C., 18th July, No. 1.

TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

GARRETT :

16th July, 1778.

SIR,

A husband tenderly beloved torn from my arms by a departure, as sudden as unforeseen, left since that fatal moment under cruel anxieties for his present and future lot, deserted, abandoned in a time of trouble, with two children whereof one at the breast, I could never have thought that it had been possible to add further to the affliction of a wife and of a tender mother already too disconsolate. Nethertheless I experienced yesterday fresh troubles by seeing the seals fixed on Garretty and particularly on a clothes press containing a set of silver plate which incontestably belongs to me, having bought and paid for it with my own money. I offer to prove it by account and receipts which I am able to produce. It would be encreasing the weight of my misfortunes if one had the cruelty to take away this plate from me to which I have the most legal right of property and which according to circumstances may become a resource necessary for my subsistence as well as that of my children. Permit me, Sir, to reclaim it. I cannot persuade myself that an unfortunate declaration between our two nations, and the possession taken of a Colony, which neither made nor could make any resistance to the English troops, can be motives sufficient for taking from me this property by right.

It is, therefore, with confidence that I have recourse, Sir, to your equity for you to be so kind to order that none of the effects which belongs to me be seized.

I entreat you once more, Sir, to decide definitely as to my fate. The cruel uncertainty in which I am in that respect causes me the greatest disquietude. I humbly pray you to put an end to them by informing me whether it be the intention of the Council of Calcutta to permit me to reside or whether I am to quit it. In either of which cases, I expect from you, in justice, that the proper and the full and certain enjoyment of all the effects belonging to me may be preserved to me, as well as the liberty of removing them to Chandernagore, if I must absolutely retire thither.

I am further under the same disquietude as to the provisions, which I only take from the warehouses as I have occasion to use them. As the keys are no longer in the hands of my steward, I request you to order those who are in possession of them to cause to be delivered whatever I shall require by an order to this same steward, who will present it to him.

I have just this instant learned that the budjerow, which I had sent down, before these troubles, to meet Mr. Law is stopped, and also the servants and effects which I have in it.

* For the capture of Chandernagore by Col. Dow see *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. II., p. 391 *et seq.*

I entreat you, Sir, to be pleased to cause these same effects to be restored to me, consisting of some furniture and plate, and to cause my servants to be set at liberty. I dare flatter myself that the true sentiments of esteem, which my husband and self have already borne you personally, will induce you to have consideration on my melancholy situation, and to exercise all the justice to be done to me which I deserve.

I shall be particularly obliged to you, if in addition to your other acts of equity towards me, you would be pleased to grant me the favour of a guard of sepoy for the safety of my person.

I have the honour to be with sentiments of perfect esteem

Your most obedient humble servant,

DA LIGNER CHEVALIER.

A true translation from the original.

A. L. GILBERT,

French Translator.

2.

1778 O. C., 18th July, No. 2.

To MRS. CHEVALIER.

FORT WILLIAM

18th July, 1778.

MADAME,

I have been honoured with the letter which you have been pleased to write to me on the 16th instant. I am concerned that it was not in my power to return an immediate answer, as it was necessary for me previously to submit the contents of it to the consideration of the other members of the Council, but I am happy that it is now in my power to acquaint you that orders will be sent to Colonel Dow to comply with every part of it as far as may depend on him, and I hope that you will have suffered no inconvenience from the delay. Colonel Dow, in conformity to directions now transmitted him, will leave you in the free use of the house of Gyretty with all the furniture, utensils, and necessaries which you may have occasion for. He will also put you in possession of the plate which you claim, and of any other articles particularly appertaining to you, and order a guard of sepoy for your protection.

With respect to the budgerow despatched down the river to meet Mr. Law which has been seized, we have ordered it to be sent up to Calcutta, and on its arrival your servants shall be released, and your plate and furniture restored to you.

I have the honour to be with esteem,

Madame, yours, etc.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

[O. C. No. 3 of date is a draft of a letter to Colonel Dow giving the directions referred to above.]

3.

1778 O.C., 10th August, No. 6.

CHANDERNAGORE :

4th August, 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

The check we have just received promising nothing favourable for us, I entreat you to grant me a passport as likewise to Mr. Fesquet, one of my partners, to go and settle some

affairs on the coast of Coromandel, and to proceed from thence to Europe, upon English, French or neutral ships.

The storms with which we are threatened, gentlemen, on the seas in India, make me desirous of not exposing my wife to them. I request you to permit her to remain in Bengal, and that my brother, a prisoner at Patna, on his parole, may come down and be with her, to avail himself of the first calm to accompany her to Europe. They will neither of them be at any charge to your Government, notwithstanding the changes which the seizure of my warehouses and ships may have caused in my situation.

I am, etc.,
LOUIS MONNERON.

4.
1778 O.C., 10th August, No. 2.

TO MR. ALEX. ELLIOT.*

FORT WILLIAM.
10th August, 1778.

SIR,

We have received your letter of the 2nd instant from Cuttack enclosing a parole signed by Monsr. Chevalier and Monsr. Sanson to repair immediately to Calcutta, and acquainting us with the means by which you had succeeded in your attempt to apprehend these gentlemen.

As we deem the seizure of Mr. Chevalier's person a point of very great importance to the public service, we think it incumbent on us to testify our approbation of the measure, and to return you thanks for the activity and zealous attention which you have shown on this occasion to the interests of the Company and to the welfare of the public.

We are, etc.

(Draft.)

[Governor General and Council.]

1778 O.C., 2nd September.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS GOVERNOR-GENERAL AT CALCUTTA.

GARATTY :
30th August, 1778.

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit you herewith the particular notes which I promised you concerning the colony of Chandernagore.

Mr. Le Conte. He was notary of Chandernagore and has constantly exercised that office, till the day of the Revolution, which has lately happened, in virtue of his nomination by the Administration, as is proved by the commission which was given to him and which I here bring before your view in the original No. 1, as likewise the letter which M. Le Conte has written you on the subject, No. 2. Upon my return here, I was surprized to find Mr. Calnois, by a very ill placed conduct, had taken from him this place by dint of solicitations to his friends whom he has employed, although he has a very genteel fortune, and beyond what the inhabitants of Chandernagore in common possess. He is—Register, a place which according to our law is incompatible with the Notaryship. M. Le Conte is a man

* See *Bengal: P. & P.*, Vol. for the circumstances of Chevalier's case.

reduced to the lowest poverty, having a wife, children, and besides an old father-in-law whom he is obliged to maintain. He had nothing but his appointment to live by. He is deprived of it without even being brought upon the subsistence roll. He therefore hopes from your goodness that you will be pleased to repair the injustice which has been done to him, doubtless without your knowledge, as it was not possible for you to be informed of the details.

1. Subsistence.

I have perceived with pain that this object has been treated with much partiality and unfortunately too much influenced by passion. The friends of those who formed the lists have been brought upon them without difficulty, the others have been omitted and rejected, as if they had not shared the same fate and had no wants of livelihood. Such are

Mr. D'Hervilliers. He has been sent by the administration of Pondicherry in quality of ordonator and administrator for the King in Bengal, in the room and place of Mr. Descorches, who was recalled, as is proved by his commission, of which herewith a copy, No. 3, accompanied by his registering of the Superior Council, No. 4. Under No. 5 is a letter which he has the honor to write you on this subject. It is, therefore, very just that he should enjoy a subsistence equal to that of Mr. Descorches, and even in preference since he is the man in office, and the other is no longer anything. However, as this latter is a prisoner, it is natural for the subsistence to be granted to him.

Mr. Moreau. He is a young man sent from Pondicherry in quality of writer or employed by the King to relieve Mr. Boulet accused of a detestable crime, of which I have related to you the particulars, and which he has unfortunately too much confirmed by the conduct which he has lately held, since Captain Grant commands in Chandernagore. He was under the lash of justice and a fugitive at Chinsura. He has, nevertheless, been put on the list of subsistence for I don't know what sum, and no mention has been made of the name of Mr. Moreau. The salary allowed by the King to him is 2,000 francs or Rs. 800 per annum that of Mr. D'Hervilliers is 4,000 francs or Rs. 1,600.

Mr. Breu. He is joined with Mr. Nicolas in the liquidation of the affairs of the Company. The salary which he receives is Rs. 80 per month. Mr. Nicolas has been put on the list of subsistence, and no mention has been made of the name of Mr. Breu.

Mr. Durand. Resident at Caricola. He is in indigence, in charge of a large family as well in Europe as here. It would be just to allow him Rs. 60 per month, and the same to Mr. Sanson, Resident at Balasore.

Birzeman. A Bengal doctor employed by the King, at Rs. 15 per month, for the use of the Hospital and of the Colony. It would [be] enough to allow him 10.

2. Ladies of the Colony who finding themselves reduced to the greatest distress and which have not wherewithal to live with an allowance, viz.:

Madam Sinfray. Her husband, who was Counsellor and Zemindar at Chandernagore, has been long since absent, and cannot come back in the present situation of affairs. He has left her nothing to supply her expenses and she is without resource.

Madam Carvalho. She is in the same situation as Madam Sinfray.

Madam Ravly. She has a large family to support and without any means to do it.

Madam Vadoré. Daughter of Mrs. Ravly, has the charge of children, and is in the same case of necessity as her mother.

Madam de Breau. This widow has occasion as well as the others for an allowance.

I think that the allowance for each of these ladies cannot be less than Rs. 50 per month, which would still be a very poor relief for their situation.

Sabque. He is a native of the country, my writer charged with my affairs. He has, since the capture of Chandernagore, been under the guard of two sentinels placed at the door of his house, and who keep him under constant fear. I do not think, Sir, that there can result any public or private advantage from it, and I should be obliged to you to cause them to be removed. All his boats landed with goods, which are his property, are stopped in different parts of Bengal, *viz.*, four at Batolong, thirteen at Sibgunge, and I don't know what number at Silhet. As this man should be considered as a native of the country, and having moreover no connection direct or indirect with public affairs, it would be just to give currency to his affairs, and to have him set at liberty.

3. *Pilots of the Ganges.*

They have been long since detained prisoners in the old Fort of Calcutta, where they complain that they suffer much. Mr. Puget in particular is one of them who is the most to be pitied. He has at Chandernagore a young wife big with child and grieved with chagrin and disquietude. She is continually crying, and her situation leaves room to fear miscarriage, her husband not being able in the situation in which he is to furnish her with what she is most indispensably in need of. She deserves to be pitied. I wish very much, Sir, that it may be possible to render more easy the lot of these unfortunate people. Some of them can find even in Calcutta securities for their persons, but there are some of them who, not being known, cannot have this advantage. I do not think there would be any inconvenience in suffering them to return to Chandernagore upon their parole in writing. But if this proposal cannot be accepted, let them have at least the permission of remaining here in prison under a guard: they will find more success among their relations and friends than in a strange colony. Their persons become of so much the less consequence, as you are not ignorant of my having sent eight pilots to Pondicherry last August, and that they are still there.

4. *Detention of the effects and goods of the Inhabitants.*

From the moment that Chandernagore was taken, the property of the merchants of this town has been seized in all their warehouses, the seal affixed to the doors of them, sentinels placed upon them to prevent anything being taken out, by which means a quantity of goods have been damaged, either by dampness, by the white ants, or for want of being permitted to look after them. Affairs are still at this time in the same position which entirely ruins the individual—a loss which, with respect to several of them, falls rather on their constituents and creditors than on themselves. I dare even advance to you with truth, Sir, that the colony of Chandernagore suffers most by the delays in the remittance of payments to be made to them. But without having any regard to this reasoning, you know, Sir, that by the position of affairs and by the chain of events, Chandernagore could not, ought not, to be considered but as a settlement purely commercial on the part of the French nation. This Settlement could not be but under your protection with particular privileges in a country which you possess in sovereignty and when, by the terms of the last Peace, we are forbidden to have either fortifications, guard, or garrison. The sepoy, which we have entertained to the number of 150, were considered only as a guard of police to keep the inhabitants in order and prevent public disorder. Nor was it even granted to Mr. Law by the Governor-General and Council of Calcutta, at the time of the resettlement, but as an indulgence, which they had reserved to themselves to withdraw at their will. We have been faithful to these engagements: you have the proof of it by the inventory which your Commissary Mr. Collings has sent you. You will there see that, far from having amassed any warlike provisions, as calumny had given out, there was only found

about 50 pounds weight of powder and very poor guns—to supply those which the sepoys used whenever they were unfit for service, otherwise not a soldier, not a fighting man. Your troops entered without the least resistance. All the inhabitants surrendered to Lt.-Col. Dow on the first summons. He exacted their parole, they gave it without any difficulty or objection. Can it then be possible that under the like circumstances, and placed in the situation which I have just described to you, we should have to undergo all the rigour of war ; whilst in Europe, even every town which is taken after a long seige and a vigorous defence, as soon as the enemy have taken possession of it, the inhabitants continue in possession of their property without being suspected ; all their affairs go on as usual, the consideration of the engagements which they are made to enter into not to serve against the nation into whose power they fall ? If these are customs observed among all nations, when at war with each other in Europe, how much more therefore with so much the more reason, ought it to be the case in a colony like Chandernagore, which had no other existence than that which I have just described to you ? I dare then flatter myself, Sir, that your justice acknowledging the solidity and force of these arguments, will be pleased to succour all these unfortunate people, whose cause I make it my duty and myself the honour to plead here. As long as the fate of others be attenuated, I am contented ; I ask nothing for myself, and, if there be required a victim, I should sincerely wish to be the only one on whom the blow fell. I have no occasion, Sir, to solicit your humanity nor the excellence of heart which characterises you. These are qualities natural to you. The whole public to whom you have given so many proofs of it, render justice and do homage to it. Every one knows how much you suffer inwardly from the pains and misfortunes which may befall mankind, and how desirous you are of lending them your assistance.....tho' the streets of Chandernagore, that if you had been informed of several circumstances which have happened, you would not have delayed an instant to remedy them. Rely on these motives, I am full of confidence, Sir, that you will spare nothing that may be in your power to cause to be restored to the unfortunate inhabitants of Chandernagore their effects and property. These will be further rights which you will acquire to their gratitude and mine which I shall never cease to join to all the sentiments of the most perfect esteem and consideration with which I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
CHEVALIER.

6.

1778 O.C., 2nd September G (2).

FORM FOR MR. CHEVALIER'S PAROLE.

I, John Baptiste Chevalier, having been taken Prisoner of War as a subject of France, and having, agreeable to Custom and the usage of War in such cases, by authority of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal obtained my liberty on my parole of honor, which I do hereby solemnly give neither directly nor indirectly to serve against the King of Great Britain, the English East India Company or their Dependencies in any hostile capacity whatsoever, offensive or defensive, nor to convey intelligence, combine, intrigue, or do anything which may have a tendency prejudicial to their interests or concerns. Having consented to take my passage to England in one of the Company's ships, I do further bind myself by this parole not to return to the East Indies nor to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope during the continuance of the War between France and Great Britain.

7.

1778 O.C., 2nd September, No. 11.

TO THE HON'BLE J. B. CHEVALIER, Esq.

FORT WILLIAM :

2nd September, 1778.

SIR,—The Governor-General has laid before us the letter which you wrote to him on the 30th ultimo in consequence of the representation therein contained we have ordered

That Monsr. Le Conte be appointed Notary in the room of Monsr. Calnois.

That an allowance be granted to Monsr. D'Hervilliers equal to that granted to Monsr. Descorches.

That Mr. Moreau's name be inserted in the pay list instead of Monsr. Boulet.

That Mr. Bew be added to the list at Rs. 80 per month.

That Messrs. Durand and Sanson be each allowed Rs. 60 per month.

That the ladies whom you have recommended for subsistence be each allowed Rs. 50 per month, and that the subsistence money be granted to the several persons contained in a list delivered by Monsr. Hocquart to the Governor-General whereof a copy has been sent to the Commissary, for that purpose he will pay to first classes Rs. 40 per month and Rs. 20 to each of the remainder.

Berzeman, being a native, we do not think it necessary to grant him any allowance.

With respect to the Pilots, we had offered to set them at liberty upon security to be given for the due observance of their parole, but they have not yet tendered such security to us. We shall now send them up to Chandernagore to be detained there under sufficient guard to prevent their escape, and they will be allowed for sustenance the same salaries they have heretofore received from their own Government.

We have directed the Commissary to restore all the private property which was taken in the town of Chandernagore to the former owners, excepting houses which for the present however are to remain in the possession of those to whom they belonged at the period immediately previous to the capture, but we have thought it proper to retain all the public property and all military stores of every denomination, whether private or public, all ships vessels with their cargoes, whether taken at Chandernagore or at sea, and all budgerows and boats.

In regard to yourself, Sir, we must hereby formally claim the performance of your engagement in the parole given to Mr. Elliot at Cuttack by repairing to Calcutta to receive the conditions and obligations which may be settled respecting the prisoners of war or their liberty. In the meantime, we beg leave to offer it to your option either to quit Bengal and take your passage on the first ship for England, giving your parole of honour in the form enclosed, or to remain a prisoner at Calcutta. In case you shall prefer the first part of this alternative, we shall consent to your continuing at Gharetty to make the necessary preparations for your departure until the 1st October, from which date to the time of your embarkation, it will be necessary for you to reside in Calcutta.

We also judge it proper that all the subjects of France now residing in Bengal who have either given their paroles, or are entitled to our faith upon that obligation, shall be required to leave the Provinces before the 1st day of December.

We have, etc.,

(Unsigned draft of the Governor-General and Council.)

8.

1778 O.C., 14th September, No. 11.

GARATTY :

8th September, 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

I did not receive till yesterday the letter which you did me the honour to write me under date the 2nd of this month. I begin by returning you my thanks for all which you have been pleased to grant to the inhabitants of Chandernagore on the demand which I made you on their behalf. Permit me, at the same time, to represent to you how much I was affected to see that you have excepted the houses from the restriction which you make of the other effects. Have not they equally the same rights of property to these objects as to the goods? Why, then, deprive them of the right of disposing of them as they please as being of their own property? Read the history of the most distant times, Gentlemen, you will certainly not find an example of the inhabitants of a town, which after a long seige and vigorous resistance, has come under the power of the Enemy, being afterwards dispossessed of their houses: they have always been preserved to them as a sacred asylum. It is even regular and customary to grant them safeguards, when they require them, to shelter them from the licentiousness of the soldiery. I repeat to you, Gentlemen, if such is the custom in a place of war, with how much more reason ought they not to be expected in a Colony like Chandernagore, which, as I have already observed to you, is no more than a commercial settlement, without defence and other protection than that which it might expect from yourselves being situated in the midst of your Forces, and in a country of which you are the Sovereigns? What I say here of the houses extends even to all other property whatsoever, without even excepting what you may call warlike stores, if they constitute a part of the fortunes of individuals. However, I do not know of any effects in Chandernagore which may be comprised under this denomination, but some bad guns, perhaps, and a very few belonging to some trading vessels laid up. With regard to the vessels or goods afloat, which have been taken either before Chandernagore or in the River Ganges, I do not find it just, permit me to tell you, that you should retain possession of them, as you have signified it. It is even quite contrary to the customs of war, which are that, when a power declares war against another, she fixes a period for all the ships belonging to that against which the war is declared, to depart from her Ports. She gives in like manner the same notice to all the subjects of the said Nation which happen to be dispersed throughout her Kingdom. If such be the law of war, Gentlemen, why not follow it also in the Ganges and throughout Bengal, since this kingdom is entirely under your Government? We only lived in it on the public faith and by a natural convention made between the two nations by the tenour of the Treaty of Versailles. It is then evident that we are settled under your Government, and that consequently nothing can justify the conduct which you have pursued in making the subjects of the French nation prisoners and in seizing their effects, without first having signified to them to evacuate the country, and given them time to effectuate it. I perceive very well, Gentlemen, that these sorts of arguments are very weak in the circumstances in which we now are, and that they are, moreover, points of discussion which can no longer be judged but by other tribunals than those of India, but I shall continue, nevertheless, to bring before your eyes the principles of justice and natural equity as well as of humanity. These are virtues which principally in a time of war ought to accompany and guide the steps of the warring nations even at the highest times of their prosperity. You are, as well acquainted as me, with these reasons, it is therefore useless to explain them to you.

As to what regards myself, Gentlemen, I have always been ready and am still to repair to Calcutta on receiving your orders to fulfil the engagement which I entered into at Cuttack with Mr. Elliot. Mr. Hastings knows that I made him the offer of it several times. I shall, therefore, prepare myself to set out, and shall not fail to arrive there the day that you will please to signify to me. I reserve till then to make to you the objections, which appear to me to be just and indispensable, as to the form which you have addressed me regarding the parole which you require from me. If nothing can make you change the resolution, which you appear to have taken, to cause all the subjects of France which are now in Bengal to evacuate, I request you, Gentlemen, to inform me the reasons and arrangements which you intend to take to facilitate to them the means of doing it, and for transporting themselves, their wives, children, and in short whatever their fortunes may consist of. In the last war, after you had made the conquest of Canada, all the French families were permitted to remain in their habitations. Two years were allowed to such of the inhabitants as did not choose to come under the English Government for to dispose of their houses and effects, and this term was prolonged to two years longer, upon the representations made to the Government of your nation. These are recent facts: they are authority, Gentlemen, for me to demand from you the same indulgence for all the King's subjects who are now in Bengal. Should it then only be in India that the sentiments of humanity and generosity are disavowed? I cannot persuade myself of it, but flatter myself, on the contrary, that you will glory in imitating the conduct which your countrymen have maintained, as I have just related to you.

If it were to be otherwise, it would be pronouncing the total ruin of individuals? it would be even declaring beforehand to the world their bankruptcy. Here should they indeed be to do honor to their engagements, being obliged to abandon their affairs, not even having attorneys to leave behind them to manage them in their absence, as the resolution which you have pronounced in general, and without individual being excepted therefrom.

I am full of hope, Gentlemen, that these reflections will determine you to change so vigorous an order, and which must so affect your feelings.

I have, etc.,
CHEVALIER.

As to what I have to say to you regarding the list of substances which was presented to you by Mr. Hocquart, it appears not to have been formed with due precision and order. As he has forgot to deliver me a copy of it before his departure, I shall be much obliged to you, Gentlemen, if you will be pleased to order me to be sent one of it.

Mr. Le Conte, to whom I have communicated the article of your letter which restores to him his place of Notary, called upon Captain Grant to request he would put him in charge. He gave him for answer that, not having yet received your orders, he could not satisfy him.

9.

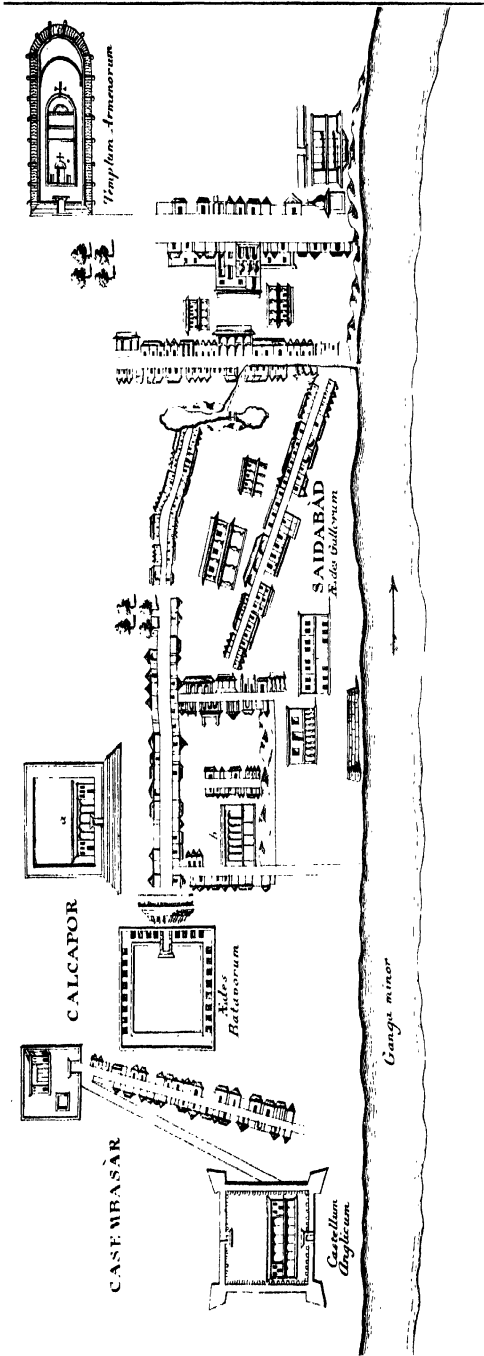
1778 O.C., 14th September, No. 12.

FORT WILLIAM :
14th September, 1778.

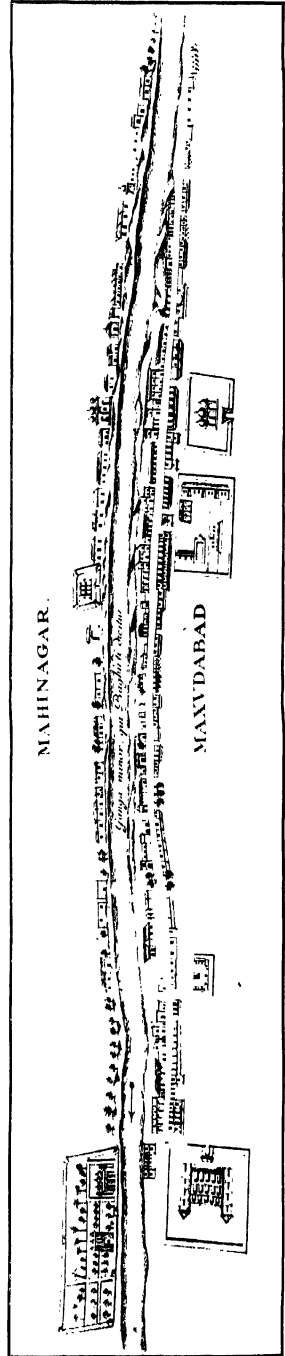
SIR,

We have had the honour to receive your letters of the 6th and 8th instant.

We must suffer the different points which you treat of to remain for the present unreplied to. When we are able to take them into consideration, we shall pass such orders upon them as appear most consistent with the general line of conduct which we have resolved to pursue in respect to the inhabitants of Chandernagore. In the meantime we think it necessary that



KASHINAGAR AND SAIDABAD.



MURSHIDABAD

you acquit yourself of the parole which you gave to Mr. Elliot at Cuttack,* by surrendering your person at Calcutta a prisoner of war on the first day of October next.

We are, etc.

(Unsigned draft of Governor General and Council.)

10.

1778 O.C., 4th November, No. 3.

GARATTY :

16th September, 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

I have just this instant received the letter which you did me the honour to write me the 14th. I shall not fail to fulfil your intentions in repairing to Calcutta on the 1st October next, as you have directed.

As I shall ever take, gentlemen, the part which I ought in the misfortunes of the inhabitants of Chandernagore, permit me also ever to solicit your humanity and generosity in their favour.

Mr. Le Conte, whom you were so kind to restore to his office of Notary, has not yet taken charge of it. Captain Grant waits your orders on that head.

I should wish much, gentlemen, to have the copy which I asked you of the list of subsistences which was printed to you by Mr. Hocquart. As it may be one of these days a matter of discussion when to be reimbursed, and that I may be blamed by my Court for not having made any representations to you respecting some persons, to whom much more has been granted than their situation required, I consider myself obliged to acquaint you with it. It is impossible for me to form any judgment of this list, till it has been presented to me. I hear only from public report that there are persons put down for 20 to 30 rupees, while 8 or 10 at the most would be sufficient for their situation.

I am, etc.,

CHEVALIER.

A true translation from the original.

A. L. GILBERT,

French Translator,

11.

1778 O.C., 8th October, No. 1.

[To the Secretary.]

1st October.

SIR,

Mr. Chevalier on reading the parole starts an objection to the part that obliges him to proceed to *England* and wishes to have it altered to *Europe*. As I think the first is unnecessary, I desire you will send it round to the gentlemen and propose that it should be altered accordingly.

I am, etc.

(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

I think that he should be sent to England.

(Sd.) PHILIP FRANCIS.

Agreed that he be sent to England.

(Sd.) EDWARD WHEELER.

* For the arrest of Chevalier by Elliot see *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. II, pp. 238, 392, 412 *to. seq.*

I think Mr. Chevalier should proceed to England. The fortune of war has made him our prisoner, and the Ministry of Great Britain may possibly judge it proper to stipulate for the justice to his creditors and the security of the English property in his hands, which has become a national object from the greatness of the amount as a condition previous to his release. I protest against any resolution which may enable this gentleman to elude the justice he owes to the individuals of our nation and the nation compelling him to do it.

(Sd.) RICHARD BARWELL.

12.

1778 O.C., 1st October, No. 1.

CALCUTTA :

1st October 1778.,

GENTLEMEN,

I have now repaired to Calcutta at your requisition and I have thereby fulfilled my engagement with Mr. Elliot at Cuttack. You now declare me a prisoner. It is in that quality you detain me in this town and require me to sign my parole in the form which you yourselves drew up and send me answer to your letter of the 2nd of last month. Permit me to make you the necessary and indispensable objections which arise on all these points. I can flatter myself that you will find them so just as to merit your approbation.

First Objection.—Under what right can I be regarded as a prisoner of war to the English nation? I was neither taken nor arrested by its own forces, nor in a country belonging to it. I was at Cuttack, a place distant near 80 leagues from Bengal, and under the Maratta Government. It was the Governor of that town, who by the most outrageous and scandalous violation of all the rights of protection and hospitality which he had granted us, having even allotted me a house in the Fort for my residence—it was him, I say, who seduced by the negotiations with which Mr. Elliot was charged on your part, delivered me into his hands. It is then clear by that I cannot at the most be considered but as a prisoner of this Maratta Governor, and put into your hands on conditions with which you are better acquainted than I am. Under this title I cannot be constrained to give you my parole and you will agree yourselves that you have no right to demand it of me.

Second Objection.—Suppose that, if notwithstanding the reasons deduced in the preceding paragraph I may be considered your prisoner, it would be necessary, Gentlemen, for you to give me proofs that there war was actually declared in Europe between France and England and that it was, in consequence of this declaration confirmed, that you took possession of Chandernagore and of all the French settlements in Bengal, and likewise of all the ships of that nation which were then in the Ganges or have come in since. I learn from different letters come from Europe, dated in the end of April and beginning of May, that at that epoch there was no war. You nevertheless declared to Mr. Hocquart, commanding in my absence at Chandernagore, by your letter of July the 11th last, that it had been declared in London on the 18th March, and on the 30th of the same month at Paris, which implies a contradiction on which I cannot help demanding from you the most positive explanation to form my conduct by in consequence; for if, on the contrary, it was only from political views or by secret orders from your Company, that you committed the hostilities which have passed, it would then not be a reason for making me a prisoner. I could not legally acknowledge myself such, since it is certain that to be a prisoner of war, such war must necessarily and essentially exist.

Third Objection.—Whatever may be the situation of affairs, and when there should be even a moral certainty of the declaration of war, I could not possibly sign a parole in the form

you require, but it is entirely contrary to the laws of war received amongst all nations, and the clause which you put to it is without example. But what is still much more interesting for me, is that this clause would bring the most dishonourable strain on my reputation in causing suspicions to arise which would render me contemptible in the eyes of all nations and particularly in those of my own. What! Gentlemen, you require that in taking my passage to England on one of your Company's ships, I should engage never to return to India nor to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope so long as the present hostilities shall continue, not even though I should be exchanged! What would my King and his ministers think of me, if I was so unfortunate as to sign to such a condition? What a mean opinion of one would it not suggest in the minds of all men? The idea, alone of it, makes the man of honour shudder. You have surely not attended to it, Gentlemen, otherwise I am persuaded you would have avoided making me the like proposition. Moreover a condition of this kind, abstractedly of what regards me personally would be absolutely null and void by the nature of it, for this reason, that, being once exchanged, I resume my primitive state, and acquire anew the same kind and same extent of liberty as I enjoyed before, in the same manner as the subject of Great Britain against whom I might be exchanged would equally regain all his rights. And how could it be that he alone had this advantage, whilst I should be deprived of it? that he in short might freely serve his country in every part of the world where it might suit its service to send him, whilst the Government of France would not have the same facility with regard to me? You must feel sufficiently, Gentlemen, I am persuaded, the force of these arguments not to come into them yourselves. At all events you may dispose of my person, it is in your hands or even of my life, but my honour is my own, and it is not in the reach of any power to ravish it from me. Here is, then, Gentlemen, what I have to propose to you, and the only condition that I am permitted to sign according to the Laws of War.

After you have given me the most formal assurances that war is declared between the two Crowns, if, without regard to the manner in which I was taken at Cuttack, you persist in considering me and are pleased to treat me as a prisoner of war, as I have no tribunal to which I can appeal upon it, I am obliged to submit, but then this is the pure and simple parole which, according to custom, I agree to give, namely, that I engage solemnly not to serve directly or indirectly against his Britannick Majesty or against the English Company in any way possible, either offensively or defensively, nor to convey intelligence, form combinations or intrigues, nor in short do anything which may prejudice their interest, as long as the present war between France and England shall last, till I may be exchanged or set at liberty by convention between the two powers.

This parole, gentlemen, is the only one generally received among all nations, and by all the military in Europe, and it is, perhaps, of all conventions that which does the greatest honour to the humanity of polished nations. For this reason it requires on both sides the greatest exacting and the nicest scruple. It is on that account that they have attached shame and dishonour to those who should be base enough to fail in it, and that even punishments have been pronounced against them! but, at the same time he that gives it, in losing thereby his public or natural liberty, is compensated for it by his own private liberty, which he immediately recovers as a mark of confidence which is placed in him, therefore every officer who has given his parole of honour not to serve against the nation whose prisoner he is, is not the less free to remain or go wherever he thinks fit, and in short to travel over all the four quarters of the Globe. I hope, then, gentlemen, that I shall be treated by you conformable to maxims, and that after having signed the parole, which I offer you, you will leave me free to return to Europe, to go and attend to my affairs, by such way and route as I shall think

proper to choose, and to remain in Bengal as long as it may be necessary for me, in order to settle all my accounts here. In this latter case, I request you will permit me to live at Garatty, as I shall be much better situated there for seeing the people who are entrusted with my affairs, and consequently more conveniently for business.

I reserve to myself, moreover, to avail myself of the advantages of the cartel such as it may be settled between the two crowns, respecting prisoners of war, if there should be a war, but in case there were not, and the first news which you may receive informed you on the contrary of a pacification, I should then naturally regain the rights of my liberty and the act of my parole, which I shall have signed, shall become absolutely null, and be considered of no effect.

I have, etc.,
CHEVALIER.

13.

1778 O. C., 1st October, No. 2.

FORT WILLIAM :
1st October, 1778.

TO MR. CHEVALIER.

SIR,

We have this moment been honored by the receipt of your letter dated this day.

We take this early occasion to inform you in reply that we do not think it is incumbent on us to solve the different questions which you have proposed to us with respect to the actual existence of war nor to enter into explanations of our conduct which are due only to those from whom we derive our authority. It is sufficient that you are a prisoner in our hands, and that we give you the choice of continuing in that state or obtaining an exemption from personal restraint on such terms as we judge it proper to prescribe. Those terms will be found specified in the enclosed parole which is now offered to your assent and signature. In this we have inserted the qualification which you proposed and which we readily admit, in case of the possible event of your being exchanged or set at liberty by a regular cartel or convention between the two powers of Great Britain and France.

We cannot depart from our requisition for you to proceed to England, but as we understand it to be your wish to take your passage by the ship of a Neutral State in preference to one belonging to the Company, we give our consent to this measure.

In consideration of the personal inconvenience you are liable to suffer by removing from Garety we agree to relax from the positive condition which required you to reside in Calcutta, and leave it to your option, when you shall have signed the parole now tendered to you to remain at Garety or here until the period fixed for your departure shall arrive.

We have, etc.
(Unsigned draft of Governor-General and Council.)

14.

1778 O.C., 1st October, No. 3.

I, John Baptiste Chevalier, late Commandant of the French Settlement at Chander-nagore in Bengal, having been made a Prisoner of War as a subject of his most Christian Majesty, and having by authority of the Governor-General and Council at Fort William in Bengal, obtained my liberty on parole, according to the usage and custom of war in such cases established, I do hereby solemnly give my parole of honor as aforesaid neither directly

nor indirectly to serve against the King of Great Britain, the English East India Company or their dependencies in any hostile capacity whatsoever, offensive or defensive, nor to convey intelligence, combine, intrigue and do anything which may have a tendency prejudicial to their interests or concerns, until I shall be exchanged or set at liberty by a regular cartel or convention between two Courts of France or Great Britain.

I do further solemnly give my parole of honor that I will depart from Bengal before the first day of December next, and that I will proceed to England with all convenient expedition. Signed and given at Fort William, this 1st day of October, 1778.

15.

1778 O.C., 4th November, No. 4.

GARETTY :

8th October, 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

The cause of the inhabitants of Chandernagore is the only subject of this letter. I now lay it again before you the reader because it is pleading the cause of humanity, and offering you the opportunity of showing yours, as well as your generosity. I have no personal interest in it either direct or indirect, but I think I am obliged by the post which I have held, etc., by the affecting cries of a little number of families, who find themselves persecuted and ruined, to give them all the assistance which is still in my power, and which can now only consist in the representations which I may make to you with regard to their condition. How will you be able to sustain without being affected by them, the lamentations of the parents, who must declare to their children still of an helpless age that they must quit their houses, the only possession of most of them and to renounce their industry, which alone provides the bread that supported them and remove from the minds of the inhabitants the oppressing incertitude, in which they are, concerning their fate, and that they may all make their final arrangements according to your decision.

Yours, etc.,

(Sd.) CHEVALIER.

I have always forgot, Gentlemen, to desire you will be pleased to allow a subsistence of Rs. 30 or Rs. 40 per month to three ladies of the Colony who are now in the most urgent want. The first is Mde. Morac, who is very old and has lost her senses a long time since. She is mother of Mde. Durand : she lived with her at Canicola, but since Mr. Durand has lost that place, he is no longer in a condition to support his mother-in-law. The second is Mde. Rutlier, who is also advanced in years. Her husband is absent, and she has no resource to so subsist herself by. The third is Mde. Aubert, wife of a surgeon, who is very poor. She has just been delivered of a child, and does not know how to pay the expenses of a nurse and a guardian.

There is also Mr. Chilly, heretofore Chief at Cassem bazar, and his brother Mr. Renault de St. Germaine, whose names were not in the list of the subsistences, Rs. 60 per month is the sum which it would be proper to allow them.

16.

1778 O.C., 4th November, No. 5.

GARETTY :

30th October, 1778.

SIR,

By my last letter of the 8th instant, which I had the honor of writing to the Council, and to which I have not received any answer, I requested a subsistence for some persons who

are in great want of it, as they are really reduced to beggary. The bearers of the present are two poor creatures in that situation, the one named Riper, and the other Michael Tome. I shall be much obliged to you, Sir, to let them be allowed fifteen rupees each.

I have, etc.,
CHEVALIER.

A true translation from the original French.

A. L. GILBERT.

17.

1778 O. C., 19th October, No. 11.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—It is my opinion and I recommend that a Cartel ship be appointed for transporting to the Isle of France such of the Inhabitants of Chandernagore as shall be willing to take their passage on it. The Secretary may consult the records during the Government of Mr. Vansittart for the forms requisite for insuring the safety of the ship and mariners, as I think a ship was sent on a similar service from hence a little before the close of the last war.

I desire that the opinions of the Board may be taken whether the cordage affirm to be the property of Mr. Monneron, shall be restored to him in the case of its having been taken at Chandernagore and on his producing proofs of his being his property or which is the same, private property committed to his care.

I think we should not take any further steps for the removal until we receive advices from Suez, which may be expected every day.

I am willing to relinquish all Mr. Monneron's private property taken in Chandernagore.

(Sd.) P. FRANCIS.

Agreed (Sd.) EDWARD WHEELER.

Mr. Monneron's private property, if not excepted from the General Rule, reverts to him of course. I see no reason offered to exclude him from the indulgence shown to the other inhabitants of Chandernagore, and I think him much better entitled to the favour of Government than many others, indeed I may say all, for he appears to have been the only real merchant of the French Nation in Bengal. Having already declared my opinion for limiting the indulgence of Government to the restoration of house utensils and wearing apparel of the French prisoners I still adhere to that opinion.

I have no objection to a Cartel ship being appointed.

(Sd.) R. BARWELL.

18.

1778 O. C., 16th November, No. 33.

TO THE HON'BLE J. B. CHEVALIER, ESQ.

FORT WILLIAM :
16th November, 1778.

SIR,—Having fully considered the subject of your letters, which on account of the multiplicity of business before us we could not give an earlier reply to, we have come to the following resolutions respecting the subjects of France residing in the provinces :—

1st.—That all the houses at Chandernagore which are private property shall be immediately restored to the owners of them with liberty to dispose of them to any persons but the subjects of France,

2nd.—That a Cartel ship shall be furnished at the expense of the Company to accommodate the French subjects who have been made prisoners of war, excepting those in the Pilot Service, with a passage to the Isle of France.

3rd.—That such of the said subjects who may be desirous to proceed to Europe be allowed passports to go in the Company's ship or on neutral ships at their own charge, after they shall have given their paroles.

4th.—That all the Bengal pilots, master-pilots or masters be permitted at their own option either to reside at large on taking the oath of allegiance to his Britannick Majesty with an exemption from bearing arms involuntarily against their natural Sovereign, and engaging that they will not proceed lower down the river than Calcutta nor quit the Province of Bengal, without license from us, or to be transported to England at the expense of the Company and on their ships.

5th.—That such of the French subjects residing in Bengal, who are either natives or through age or infirmities from any other sufficient causes are incapable of removing themselves or families from the country without great personal inconvenience, may be permitted to remain in Bengal, on taking the oath of allegiance to his Britannick Majesty with the exception only of being obliged to bear arms against their natural sovereign—and that a Committee be appointed to receive and determine on the pretensions of such as shall desire to partake of this indulgence.

Although we have given orders to Captain Grant to divulge these several resolutions, we think it also proper to make you acquainted with them and to inform you that we have nominated Messrs. Auriol, Johnson and Gilbert to compose the Committee mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

In compliance with your request we enclose a copy of the list of persons recommended to us by Monsr. Hocquart to be allowed subsistence with his account of the salaries which they received at the period of the capture of Chandernagore from their own Government and which we resolved to continue to them. But as it has since been found necessary to add many more to this list book in consequence of your recommendation and of the distressed circumstances in which the Persians were represented to be, we have directed Mr. Collings, our Commissary, to furnish you with a complete list of such names as have been since added.

We are, etc.

(Unsigned draft of Governor-General and Council.)

19.

1778, O.C., 7th December, No. 2 ; O.C., 7th December, No. 3.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL
AND THE GENTLEMEN OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA.

GARATTY :

3rd December, 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

The necessity under which I am of proceeding regularly on account of the persons to whom I must furnish account of what they have entrusted to my care, makes it my duty to transmit you the list of the goods which were plundered, or became averaged in my warehouses during the time they remained under seizure and under the charges of the sepoys. These two articles are placed under separate heads and the proofs for them are clear, as they have been taken from the verification made between the conventory

delivered to Colonel Dow by his order, and to Mr. Collings, when they took possession of the warehouses, and that made judicially by the Notary, when the effects were restored. It is this latter which states what is wanting in the first, and I can produce to you the verbal processes which were made by the Notary in the presence of witnesses, if you think it necessary. The reason why this statement had not been sent you sooner, is that much time was required to form it and to make a general verification. At the time that Mr. Collings received your orders for restoring the goods of individuals, I informed him that I requested he would deliver mine back by inventory, acquainting him that I could not receive them otherwise because I had been assured that many things had been taken away and stolen. He refused it, and that determined me to deposit the keys with the Notary, who did not return them to me again, till he had taken an exact inventory of them. Now, Gentlemen, if you think it just that this object should be reimbursed, I request you will give your orders and to make me acquainted with your intentions. The statement which I have the honor of presenting to you amounts to current rupees twenty-eight thousand, five hundred and fifty, thirteen annas and twenty gundas (28,550-13-20) and if you wish to have all the articles verified, it is easy for you to send a Commissary for that effect to take upon the spot all the information that he may think proper.

I have, etc.

(Sd.) CHEVALIER.

A true translation from his original.

A. L. GILBERT,
French Translator.

20.

1778, O. C., 30th November, No. 15.

TO THE HON'BLE J. B. CHEVALIER, Esq.

FORT WILLIAM :
30th November, 1778.

SIR,

Having purchased the *Warren* to be employed as a cartel ship for the conveyance of as many of the inhabitants of Chandernagore as may be desirous of proceeding by her to the Isle of France, we request that you will be pleased to prepare the necessary orders and documents to secure her safe passage as a cartel ship and to prevent her suffering any capture, impediment, or obstruction from the subjects of France. We further desire that you will be pleased to write to the Governor at Mauritius that the ship may on no account be detained there, after having landed the passengers, beyond the time absolutely required to provide water and other refreshments for the crew.

We are
(Unsgnd draft of Governor-General and Council.)

21.

1778 O. C., 21st December.

GARATTY :
18th December, 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

I have the honour to send you herewith under a flying seal the letter which you desired me to send you for Mr. De la Brillane, recommending to him to furnish the cartel ship all

the refreshments and succours that she may be in need of, and to detain her as little as possible.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) CHEVALIER.

22.

1778 O. C., 21st December, No. 10.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.

FORT WILLIAM :
21st December, 1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I have received the honor of your letter of yesterday's date with the representation inclosed from Mr. Chevalier, to which I believe I can reply in a great measure without further reference or inquiry.

On my taking charge of the effects belonging to the different inhabitants of Chandernagore, delivered over to me by Colonel Dow, I requested of them separately an inventory of those effects, both as a guide to me in forming the report I was ordered to make and as a voucher to be referred to in case of any future cavil or dispute. Amongst the rest I received an inventory of the goods said to be the property of Mr. Chevalier (he being at that time absent from Chandernagore) from his *homme d'affaires*.

The inventory, which I had the honour to transmit to the Board, was a general abstract of the public and private property, and was formed upon the strictest examination I was then able to take. I presume it is unnecessary for me to remark that, in taking the accounts of the different store-houses, I could not ascertain the quantity really existing of several articles, when the owners themselves could not, without taking up a great deal of time.

On receipt of your orders for restoring the private effects, I made the several merchants, whose goods had been attached, acquainted therewith, and, as I had every reason to suppose from the precautions taken, that their goods were at the time in *statu quo*, I drew up a general receipt for my own justification, which, they all immediately signed, except Mr. Chevalier. Mr. Chevalier sent me a separate one with a reservation which, for the above reasons, I declined accepting.

I will not detain the Board with repeating the several messages that passed between this Gentleman and myself. The substance of his was a charge of speculation of his property, before he had even examined his warehouses, and a refusal to give me a discharge, as the others had done, till I had allowed his people to inspect them. To remove every plea of complaint, I sent my own sircars with Mr. Chevalier's agent, who were employed several days in taking an account of their contents. Not satisfied with this, [Mr. Chevalier desired that he might be permitted to take a Notorial Account. To this I objected. Soon after he sent me a general release and I put him into possession.

I have very few observations to make on Mr Chevalier's representation, or on the list of deficiencies accompanying it, for which he claims satisfaction, but if what I have now the honour to remark should not be deemed satisfactory to the Hon'ble Board, I shall most readily endeavour to give them every explanation and light upon the matter that may be in my power. For the present I will only beg leave to observe that a Military Guard was placed over every storehouse, of which I took charge immediately after the troops took

possession of the Town. That the Guards were continued till the private effects were restored, and that the keys were constantly in my possession. It is not for me to enter on the subject of what may have been taken away in the small space of time between the taking and committing the stores over to my charge, but, if I may be permitted to observe it here, I believe these are few instances where troops have observed a stricter discipline or better order on similar occasions.

I have only a word or two to say in reply to Mr Chevalier's remarks. Is it not somewhat extraordinary that Mr. Chevalier should be the only person to object to the giving a release, and before he could know any thing of the actual state of his warehouses?

Has Mr. Chevalier any other proof to produce of the balance existing in his godowns, than the list given by his agent? I should be concerned to be understood to cast the most distant imputation on Mr. Chevalier's character as a merchant, though the state I found his magazines in particular, might well justify any censures on those to whom he entrusted the care of them; at the same time, I hope he will permit me to appeal to the same respectable character he has thought proper to introduce in his remark, in case the Board should deem any further investigation of his representation necessary.

There is one article I cannot omit taking notice of; it is the last, under the title of *Merchandizes avarices*. I believe it is not customary with merchants to make a demand for leakage. To answer the ingenious note which follows it, I beg leave to observe that I kept a Cooper constantly employed to prevent these accidents, and I have every reason to suppose that he did his duty as well as any other person Mr. Chevalier might have employed.

I have, etc.,
L. COLLINGS,
Commissary.

23

1779 O.C., 30th December, No. 1.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

INGELEE :
10th September, 1779.

SIR,

However desirous I have been to testify my readiness to submit to the orders of the Supreme Council of Calcutta for quitting Bengal, I am forced back to it after a long, tedious, and ruinous voyage during which my wealth and fortune have suffered considerably. If the Gentlemen of the Council are satisfied with the parole which I have given and the engagements which I have signed will permit me to enjoy in Bengal the same liberty which the subjects of His Britannick Majesty enjoy and to carry on freely the business of a merchant which I have done here ever since the suspension of the privileges of the French Company, I shall be very thankful for it; if they insist on the tenor of their order, I am repairing to Chandernagore to be together with my wife at their discretion.

Persuaded as I am, Sir, that you will not be sorry to be informed of Mr. Chevalier's fate, I take the liberty of addressing you the copy of his last letter which will make you acquainted therewith.

I am, etc.,
(Sd.) LOUIS MONNERON.

24.

1779 O.C., 30th December, No. 2.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Chevalier, dated 12th June 1779.

I write you this, my dear Monneron, from Sebelahah by my boat, which I send back, because it cannot keep up with the others when the weather is bad. I have room to be much displeased with our Arabs, and am persuaded that if we had not been continually under arms, and had not intimidated them by our firmness, they would have founded some bad designs. We judge of it from their insolence and the means which they used to drive us to extremity than they might have afterwards some pretext for committing any atrocious act. We have, however, brought them to reason by acting with authority in knocking down a man and threatening to kill him.

I embark this day on a vessel laden with coffee which is going to Cossir ; there we shall land and proceed afterwards to the Nile by a journey of three days by land on camels, and we shall then embark on the river, going down this famous river for five days as far as Cairo. I am not sorry at making this voyage which appears to me to offer objects worthy of the curiosity of a traveller. We are now embarked in great adventures ; I hope that they will end without accident.

Bonnetour and Cormeré present their compliments to you, poor Espinasse is quite lost and without hope ; he accompanies us in his boat as far as Kalla Mella where we must cross the sea to reach Cossir. We shall then take him on board if he is not dead.

I am, etc.,
(Sd.) CHEVALIER.

A true translation from the French.

A. L. GILBERT,
French Translator.

25.

1779 O.C., 30th December, No. 3.

TO CAPTAIN PETER GRANT,
Commanding at Chandernagore.

COUNCIL CHAMBER :
30th December, 1779.

SIR,

Immediately on receipt of this letter you are required to arrest the person of Mr. Monneron and deliver him as a prisoner of war ; you are further required to sequester a ship lying at Chandernagore formerly called the *St. Antonie* and now pretended to be Danish property but understood to belong to Mr. Monneron with the goods which may be on Board, and to station guards on the same to prevent any part of the goods from being removed until further orders. The Board will hold you responsible for the due execution of this service.

By Order of the Hon'ble
THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL,
(Sd.) J. P. AURIOL, *Secretary.*

26.

1780, 17th January, No. 5.

CHANDERNAGORE :

31st December, 1779.

I certify having given my parole to Captain Grant, who has signified to me the decrees of the Gentlemen of the Supreme Council that I shall observe them till they are annulled by the authority of those Gentlemen.

(Sd.) LOUIS MONNERON.

1780 O.C., 17th January, No. 31.

The Governor-General proposes that a Committee be immediately appointed to proceed to Chandernagore with orders and powers to make such enquiry as may establish the property of the vessel called the *St. Antonie*, which returned with Mr. Monneron from the Red Sea. The nature and quality of the cargo with which she was laden, by whom and for whose use it was sold, the nature, quality and amount of the cargo laden for exportation on the same vessel, by whom and on whose behalf, and if possible, to ascertain its destination, and that letters be written to the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George, to Admiral Sir E. Vernon, and to the Chief and Council at Massulipatam, informing them of our suspicions respecting the property of the ship and cargo and desiring that they will cause her to be seized until these shall be either verified by the enquiry which we have ordered to be made concerning refuted.

1780 O.C., 17th January, No. 32.

13 (91).

27.

To J. P. AURIOL, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Council.

CHANDERNAGORE :

31st December, 1779.

10 o'clock A.M.

SIR,

I have this moment the honour of your letter of yesterday, signifying to me the order of the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council, to arrest the person of Mr. Louis Monneron, and detain him in close arrest to his own house, and now enclose his parole in writing to that purpose, with a request from him, to be informed of the pleasure of the Board regarding him, as he was on the eve of his departure.

With respect to the ship formerly called *St. Antonie*, and now pretended to be Danish property. She left Chandernagore under Danish colours, the 22nd instant, and I am apprehensive by this time has got out the Ganges. I have, however, despatched Lieutenant Mackgregor down the river to look out for her betwixt this and Calcutta, and to seize her wherever she may be found. On his arrival there at Calcutta I have directed him to wait upon you, inform you of his success, and receive the further orders of the Board. He knows the vessel perfectly, and should she have passed Calcutta, it will be necessary for the Master Attendant to furnish him with some speedy conveyance to pursue her further. As the procuring an order from the Board for this purpose may be attended with some delay,

may I request that you will furnish him with such credentials as you may deem necessary to the Master Attendant, that as little time may be lost as possible.

I have, etc.,
P. GRANT, *Captain,*
Commander.

28.

1780 O. C., 17th January, No. 33.

CHANDERNAGORE :
31st December, 1779.

GENTLEMEN,

I had left Chandernagore to repair on board the ship *Nesly* bound to Mocha, from whence I was to have gone to Judda to settle some affairs which I had left unadjusted on my late voyage and afterwards to pursue my destination to France, when I learnt that this ship was not to depart till the 2nd January. I therefore returned to Chandernagore to pass the 3 days which I had to spare with my family when Captain Grant, Commander at Chandernagore, came to signify your decrees to me. As the step I had taken ———, Gentlemen, and was founded on the liberty notified to me by Mr. Auriol to quit Bengal by what I should judge the most convenient opportunity, I have so settled matters as to go to Judda, where I have left sixty thousand rupees in the hands of the Arabian merchants of that country, as I can prove by the attestations of persons known at Calcutta. I entreat you, Gentlemen, to permit me to pursue my destination upon the English ship that is now on the eve of her departure.

I am with respect, etc.,
(Sd.) LOUIS MONNERON.

29.

1780 O. C., 17th January, No. 34.

TO THE GENTLEMEN OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA.

CHANDERNAGORE :
2nd January, 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

In the request which I have had the honor to present you will have seen the motives which had determined my departure, founded on my being denied the permission of remaining in Bengal, and that might have no further reasons to return I had taken the resolution of taking my wife's passage on a Danish ship for Tranquebar that she might live there till the situation of my affairs should permit me to send for her. At the instant of my departure, all my effects being on board of the English ship which was to carry me to Mocka, I find myself usual a prisoner. Make public, Gentlemen, my crime : this is the only favor I expect from your justice, or destroy suspicions which my detention may create. It is not for my justification towards the Colony of Chandernagore ; I despise too much the principal persons who try to attract to themselves the consideration of the public ; but I owe it to a conduct of 20 years which has acquired the esteem and friendship of the chief persons of your Administration, and that of Members who compose your present Council of Madras, that of principal merchants of Calcutta, and in short without the confidence of the principal commercial houses in France who had undertaken the commerce of India. By

recollecting, gentlemen, letters of introduction which I brought for you, you will find them conformable to the idea which I wish to give you of my character, to which you will permit me to add that when a man in a long series of years has been exact in his affairs and faithful to his engagements, he will make it a rule to himself for all other circumstances of his life, and if this avowal should lend to inquiries concerning me, I flatter myself that my justification will be more complete.

I am, etc.,
(Sd.) LOUIS MONNERON.

30.

1780 O. C., 17th January, No. 35.

[In Circulation.]

In explanation of Mr. Monneron's assertion I beg leave to inform the Board that he signifies to me his wish to be permitted to go in a small vessel of his own to Mauritius, that I informed him that the Board would not consent to it, but that they insisted on his going to Europe. He then asked me by what means they would require him to go, and I told him that I conceived that they would allow him to make choice of his ship, meaning only to include ye Company's ships and foreign ships bound directly to Europe, but having no idea of his intention to return again by the Red Sea.

J. P. AURIOL.

I am of opinion that Mr. Monneron, having taken his parole, has forfeited his title to the benefit of it, and that he ought to be sent prisoner to England to be disposed of as ye Company shall direct. It is too late to take any further measures for intercepting ye vessel.

W. H.

I do not know any circumstance to determine our judgment on Mr. Monneron's conduct. If Mr. Monneron has broke his parole the penalty is death, and ought to be inflicted to deter others.

R. B.

31.

1780 O.C., 17th January, No. 37.

TO FORT ST. GEORGE.

FORT WILLIAM :
17th January, 1780.

GENTLEMEN,

Having great reason to suspect that the ship *St. Antoine*, commanded by one Calve, which lately sailed out of this River under Danish colours with a cargo of rice bound for Masulipatam is the property of Monsr. Monneron, a prisoner of war, who having obtained our permission to proceed to Europe, instead of continuing his voyage, returned in this vessel from Judda, we request that you will immediately order both ship and cargo to be attached wherever she may be found, and detained until we shall acquaint you with the result of an enquiry which we have instituted to ascertain the property appertaining to Mr. Monneron in this adventure.

[The same to Adml. E. VERNON, and to Masulipatam.]

32.

1780 O.C., 24th January, No. 27.

CHANDERNAGORE :

20thth January, 1780.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRs,

In obedience to your orders, dated the 17th instant, we proceeded immediately to Chandernagore, and on our arrival there, sent for Mr. Monneron in order to put such questions to him respecting the matters you have been pleased to direct as to enquire into ; and we have now the honor to lay before you Mr. Monneron's declarations in answer to the several questions we put to him.

1. That the ship in which he returned from the Red Sea appertains to Mr. Le Franc, an inhabitant of Serampore, and in the same vessel in which he (Monneron) and Mr. Chevalier embarked from Bengal.

2. That the said ship brought coffee to Calcutta, being part of a cargo loaded at Mocha by Mr. Monneron which he sold at his return, and that she had no other merchandize on board, either on his own account or that of any other person.

That upon receiving information that rice was in demand on the coast of Coromandel, Mr. Monneron agreed to freight the above vessel with that article, and likewise the ship, the *St. Antoine*, the property of Mr. Bie, Chief of Serampore, and actually shipped a quantity (upwards of 4,000 maunds) of rice on board each of these vessels, but that on his receiving further intelligence that the reports of a scarcity were fictitious, he made over his interest in the two cargoes of rice to Mr. Louis da Costa, by whom they were consigned to Mr. Dent at Madras.

Mr. Monneron further declares that he had no other property than the rice shipped on board these two vessels. We beg leave to lay before you the enclosed letter we received from him confirming the above declaration, which we have no reason to entertain doubt of from such other enquiries as we have made from the people employed by him.

We are, etc.,

L. COLLINGS,

JOHN BEBB.

33.

1780 O.C., 24th January, No. 28.

CHANDERNAGORE :

19th January, 1780.

MR. COLLINGS,

SIR,

This is the relation of my conduct since my return to Bengal.

Having been forced by the season to give up the voyage to Suez, I returned from Judda to Bengal. I took in coffee in touching at Mocka and sold it in Calcutta : there were no other goods on board the ship *Frederiknagore*, of which Mr. Lefranc was captain and owner, with a Danish pass.

My intention being to return to India, where I had left considerable friends, I had taken my passage on a ship for Mocka. Very strong reason making me desire not to leave my wife in Bengal, I enquired at Serampore to get her a passage to Tranquebar, where her family resides, on the ships which were then making ready for Europe, but on the assurances which had been given me that those ships would not touch there, and having learned that rice was at a very high price at Madras, desiring moreover that my wife should go

conveniently, I wrote to Mr. Lefranc that if he would freight me his vessel for Madras and a rupee and a half for the bag of rice and five hundred rupees for my wife's passage who would repair by land from Madras to Tranquebar, it would be an affair settled. He desired three days to give a definite answer. I thought his intention was to give information in Calcutta, and upon the advice which he would have of the price of grain at Madras, he would not accept my proposals. I then turned my thoughts to the *St. Anthony*. I settled with Mr. Bie for the freight of her. In the meantime Mr. Lefranc accepted my proposals so that I found myself a freighter of two vessels. As I had some funds to pay on the coast, and as the news from Madras invited speculations in rice, I flattered myself that 10 or 12 thousand rupees might be employed profitably. Having finished the landing of these two small vessels, I received letters from all parts which advised that the scarcity of grain at Madras was only imaginary, and that two small vessels arrived there in November from the northward, had fallen rice from 110 pagodas the garso to 60. Mine stood me in 70. Upon which I proposed to Mr. Louis d'Costa, who had received commissions for some, to put himself in my place, which he accepted. I found myself by this means entirely free from this speculation. The bills of lading were signed in his name, and this affair was ended and finished, as many others had been in the course of my mercantile career.

Since the word which I gave has been doubted, I shall not reclaim it, but my books, my letters, and the testimony of persons of credit in Calcutta, to whom I offered an interest in this expedition, or to whom I proposed to give some money on respondention, will prove that these vessels with their cargoes have always been intended for Madras and I defy the most subtle calumny not to prove but even to insinuate that I had in view any other expedition.

This operation no longer taking place for my own account and learning that as a Danish sloop was going direct to Tranquebar, I desired Mr. Bie to grant me a passage for my wife and her effects. He was kind enough to speak to the Captain, who was satisfied with 400 rupees. I considered that place as the only one that was fit for her, because in the supposition that her father and mother went to Europe, she had her sister left, who had just been married to Mr. Albert's nephew. My lot, Sir, lays me under the necessity of working ; it was the only object which I had in view, when orders from the Government made me a prisoner. I owe nothing to my own countrymen : the English only are my creditors. The persecutions of your Government, nor the sentiment which attaches me to my country, will never extinguish from my heart the desire of satisfying them ; and, in order to do it, I shall more carefully employ but such measures as will be a consolation to me as often as I shall look to myself.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) LOUIS MONNERON.

34-

1780 O. C., 14th February, No. 18.

CHANDERNAGORE :

8th February, 1780.

JAMES PETER AURIOL, ESQ.

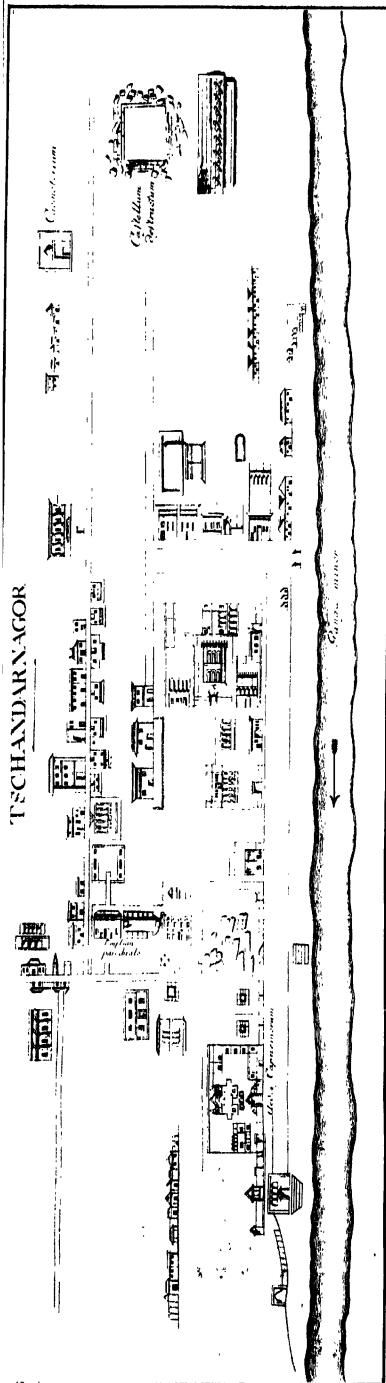
SIR,

I request that you will inform the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council that Mr. Moneron has sent me Mr. Dent's letter advising the arrival of the other ship, the *St. Antoine*, at Madras.

I am, etc.,

L. COLLINGS.

TSCHANDANAGOR

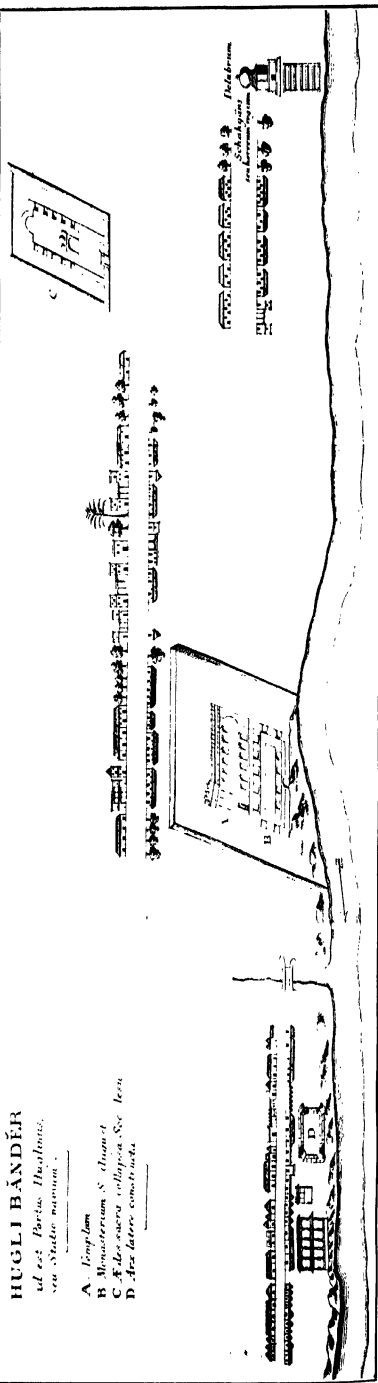


CHANDERNAGORE.

HUGLI BÂNDÉR

ul est Portus Hooghly,
vix Statio navium.

- A. Templum
- B. Monasterium S. Thome
- C. F. de S. Thome
- D. F. de S. Thome



HUGLI AND BANDEL.

35

1780 O. C., 14th February, No. 19.

CHANDERNAGOR :
8th February, 1780.

TO MR. LEONARD COLLINGS.

SIR,

I have the honour to address you a second time of Mr. Dent's which advises the arrival of the ship *St. Anthony* now called the *Julia Theresa*, Mr. Bie having given her that name after his daughter. Thus, Sir, I have exculpated myself from these two heads of accusation. If there are any others, I will oversee them also, more especially if they will confront me with my accusers.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) LOUIS MONNERON.

36.

1480 O. C., 9th March, No. 2.

CHANDERNAGORE :
14th February, 1780.

GENTLEMEN,

I have been honoured by the receipt of your commands relative to Monsieur Monneron, a prisoner of war under my charge at this station.

In obedience thereto I made him acquainted with the resolution of your Hon'ble Board to send him to Europe, as such, on board the ship *Ceres*, and placed a guard at his house for the security of his person.

Herewith I have the honour to forward a letter which I received last night from him—unable of myself to reply think I have the honour to wait your orders herein, and to subscribe myself.

etc.,
WM. DAVIES, *Capt.*,
Cg. 34th Batn. at Chandernagore.

37.

1780 O. C., 9th March, No. 3.

TO CAPTAIN DAVIES.

CHANDERNAGORE :
17th February, 1780.

SIR,

I request your favor to know if I shall be admitted to the Captain's table, and if I can carry with me two small trunks containing linen clothes, a travelling case, and one or two little chests of sugar and tea for my own use.

I am very sorry to trouble you about such demands.

I am, etc.,
LOUIS MONNERON,

38.

1780 O. C., 1st May, No. 5.

FORT ST. GEORGE :
1st April, 1780.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

In consequence of your letter of the 17th January last we have endeavoured to obtain every possible information respecting the ship *St. Antoine*, and from all we can learn, she sailed from the Bengal river directly for the Island of Mauritius loaded with provisions without having touched on any part of this coast.

We have, etc.,
THOMAS RUMBOLD.
JOHN WHITEHILL.
HECTOR MUNRO.
CHARLES SMITH.
SAMUEL JOHNSON.
D. PERRING.

40.

1778 O.C., 30th November, No. 5.

THE WARREN CARTEL SHIP.

[In Circulation.]

Further proposals from the owner of the *Britannia* and *St. Helena* for letting their ships out to carry dispatches to Suez. The Secretary begs leave to inform the Board that in obedience to their orders to treat with the owners of these vessels, he has prevailed on them to reduce their original terms to the rates now specified. He also lays before the Board an offer received this morning from the Commander of the *Betsy* Sloop.

The Secretary further submits to the Board letters received in consequence of their Orders from the Owners of the *Warren* and *Narshipore* offering them vessels to be employed on cartel for the transportation of the French prisoners to Mauritius together with an Extract from Consultation 22nd September 1757 on the like subject.

Wednesday Morning.

(Sd.) J. P. AURIOL,
Secretary.

41.

1778 O. C., 30th November, No. 9.

TO JAMES PETER AURIOL, ESQ.,

Secretary.

SIR,

Being apprized of the intention of the Honourable Board to employ a ship as a cartel ship to transport the French prisoners from hence to Mauritius.

We beg leave to tender our ship the *Warren* for sale for that purpose at eighty-thousand rupees, or to offer her for freight on terms that any three competent and eligible Judges shall deem equitable, which mode, we hope, will meet with your approbation, as we

know no precedents to lead our judgments and our view is merely to employ her for the present, if our offer for the purchase is not accepted.

The burthen of the *Warren* is from eight hundred to one thousand tons and she is in every respect calculated for the purpose being well able to convey near five hundred persons and their effects, which, we apprehend, cannot be effected by any other ship in the river, and we believe that the French inhabitants in Bengal will be found to amount to be little short of that number.

We are, etc.,
MONTAIGUT BELLI AND EVANS.

CALCUTTA :
20th November, 1778.

42.

1778 O.C., 30th November, No. 10.

The ship *Warren*, burthen from 950 to 1,000 tons or thereabouts, we are willing either to sell or freight.

We offer her for sale to the Honourable Company at Rs. 10,000.

We are willing also to freight the said ship for the purpose of carrying from Bengal to Mauritius all the inhabitants of Chandernagore and their effects at the fixed sum of Rs. 80,000 for the voyage, comprehending therein both freight and passage money on condition that she shall be dispatched by the 15th January, and if after that day be a demurrage of Rs. 200 per day to be allowed by the Company, and that at all events she shall not be detained longer than the 1st March next.

If our terms are accepted we are willing that the *Warren* should be thus employed as a cartel ship, provided that the Honourable Company shall indemnify us in the sum of Rs. 80,000 against all seizures or detention by the subjects of the King of France or any other enemies to Great Britain.

We understand that there are precedents by which we are willing to be guided, should terms be exceptionable, and to submit to the opinions of those persons who are competent and acquainted with maritime affairs.

43.

1778 O.C., 30th November, No. 13.

Saturday Morning.

HONOURABLE SIR,

For the sum of Rs. 29,850 we engage to victual and navigate the *Warren* from hence to Mauritius and back, by which we expect to lose Rs. 10,000. Our view is to dispose of her on any terms that can justify our conduct to the creditors.

When the affair may be completed, I will engage my honor that every just account shall be produced, and will refund whatever amount may appear to have been paid more than the true and absolute necessary expense.

I am, etc.,
T. EVANS.

44.

1778 O.C., 30th November, No. 14.

Memorandum :—

| | | |
|--|-----|------------|
| Warren's Imprest at Rs. 1,600 per month for 6 months | ... | Rs. 9,600 |
| Pilotage, Tow Boats, etc. | ... | " 1,000 |
| Provisions for the Crew | ... | " 2,000 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | Rs. 12,600 |

Provisions, Liquors and Necessaries for the passengers as follows :—

| | | |
|--|-----|----------------|
| Cabin passengers 50 at Rs. 40 per passenger per month is Rs. 2,000, for 3 months | ... | Rs. 6,000 |
| Common passengers 150 at Rs. 25 per passenger is per month Rs. 3,750, for 3 months | ... | " 11,250 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | 17,250 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | Co. Rs. 29,850 |

N.B.—The Imprest and other charges are estimated as paid heretofore.

45.

1778 O.C., 14th December, No. 32.

TO THE HONOURABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE
GENTLEMEN OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA.

GARATTY :

7th December, 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

I did not receive till yesterday evening the letter which you did me the honour to write me on the 30th of this month, by which you give me advice of the purchase which you have made of the *Warren* to be employed as a cartel ship to convey to the Isle of France the families of Chandragore who may wish to avail themselves of that opportunity the repair thither. You desire me at the same time to prepare the orders and necessary documents to insure her passage that she may not be molested in her voyage. The only paper which would be necessary for this purpose would be a pass-port, but it is not in my power to issue at this time, for this reason that in quality of prisoner of war, according to our Laws, every public act which I might do or sign in the name of His Majesty could be considered as absolutely invalid, and would carry no appearance of authority. But, Gentlemen, in the time of war there is no occasion for the concurrence of the two belligerent Powers, for one to send to the other its prisoners. The one which makes the expedition gives her own pass-port, in which it is mentioned that the vessel which is bearer thereof is a cartel vessel, and this title at once renders her respectable, being further proved by the prisoners themselves. You have an example of it at Calcutta. During the time of war there was an expedition of the like nature; Captain Thornhill was charged therewith, and his pass-port was delivered to him by the Governor of Calcutta alone without the concurrence of Mr. Renault, Chief on the part of French nation, who was at that time a prisoner. After these observations, Gentlemen, I can only send you a letter for the Governor of the Isle of France, as you desire, but it will then only be the recommendation of an individual, and not an

act from one vested with a public character. If you desire this letter, Gentlemen, I will send it you immediately on your requiring.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) CHEVALIER.

A true Translation from the original.

A. L. GILBERT,
French Translator.

46.

1778 O. C., 21st December, No. 8.

TO THE CHEVALIER DE LA BRILLANE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE ISLES OF
FRANCE AND BOURBON AT MAURITIUS.

CHANDERNAGORE :
18th December, 1778.

SIR,

This will be delivered to you by the Captain of the Warren, Cartel ship, which the Governor-General and Council of Calcutta have fitted out for the purpose of transporting to the Isle of France, the French who were made prisoners in Bengal and at the capture of Chandernagore. These Gentlemen write to you upon the subject, and will make you acquainted with their intentions and the measures which they have taken. I join with them, Sir, in requesting you to give this vessel all the succours and refreshments, which it may stand in need of, that she may be able to return speedily and be detained as little as possible.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) CHEVALIER.

47.

1778 O. C., 30th November, No. 12.

TO J. P. AURIOL, ESQ.,
Secretary.

CALCUTTA :
24th November, 1778.

SIR,

In reply to the favor of your letter informing us that the Hon'ble Board do not deem our proposals regarding the affreightment of the Warren sufficiently explicit and requiring our lowest terms, we beg leave now to lay them before you in a manner which we hope will prove satisfactory, *viz.*—

1st.—That 60,000 Rupees be allowed for the voyage to the Mauritius, and the ship shall be ready for the service on or before the 1st January next.

2nd.—That 10,000 Rupees be also allowed as a contribution towards the expence of providing suitable provision, liquors and necessaries for the Cabin and other passengers.

3rd.—That the above sums shall be paid on executing the deeds and charter party.

4thly.—That the Hon'ble Company shall indemnify us from all captures and detentions from the subjects of the crown of France and of Spain in the sum of 80,000 Rupees, being the lowest value we can put upon the Block.

5thly.—That the ship shall not be allowed to be detained after her arrival at the Mauritius beyond the term of 30 days and if she should be detained for the same on the like footing as

is usual for the Hon'ble Company to allow for the detentions of their own ships. The Warren being equal to any of them in size and expence.

6thly.—That the said ship shall be deemed as cartel ship until her direct return to Madras, and entitled to the indemnifications aforementioned to the period.

We are, etc.,
MONTAIGUT, BELLI & EVANS.

48.

1778 O. C., 21st December, No. 13.

FORT WILLIAM :
21st December, 1778.

TO MR. CHEVALIER.

SIR,

We have had the honour to receive the letter which you have addressed to the Governor-General of the Isle of France respecting the Cartel ship.

On the receipt of your letter enclosing a list of deficiencies in the goods delivered up to you, we called on Mr. Collings for an explanation of the causes, and have the pleasure to enclose a copy of his reply, from which we must conclude that you have been misinformed by your agents, as the greatest care appears by his report to have been taken of your warehouses and effects while they were under attachment.

We are, etc.,
(Unsigned draft of letter from Governor-General and Council.)

49.

1778 O. C., 21st December, No. 17.

TO J. P. AURIOL, ESQ.,

Secretary.

CALCUTTA :
18th November, 1778.

SIR,

Accompanying I send you a bill of sale executed by Messrs. Montaigut, Belli and Evans, to the Hon'ble Company of the Ship *Warren*, together with original deed from Mons. Chevalier to them. I have also sent an agreement signed by these gentlemen for navigating the Ship to the Island of Mauritius and back, and for conveying the French prisoners there and a bond for the performance of the covenants contained in the agreement.

I am, etc.,
NORTH NAYLOR.

50.

1779 O. C., 15th February, No. 12.

TO THE HON'BLE THE CHEVALIER DE LA BRILLANE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF
THE ISLANDS OF MAURITIUS AND BOURBON.

FORT WILLIAM :
15th February, 1778.

SIR,

In consequence of certain advices, which we had received from Europe of open hostilities between the Crown of France and Great Britain, it became our duty to take

immediate possession of the town of Chandernagore, and to secure the inhabitants as prisoners of war. They were immediately released on their parole, their private property was restored, their former allowances continued for their subsistence, and every possible attention was paid to make their situation as easy and comfortable to them as circumstances would admit.

We have now the honour to dispatch to you the *Warren*, which we have taken up as a Cartel ship for the transportation of the subjects of France who are willing to embark on her to the Isle of France. A list of their names is enclosed, and we hope the treatment, which they will receive on board of ship will be such as they may have every reason to be pleased with.

We request that you will be pleased to allow the ship to return to Bengal as soon as the passengers shall have landed with a proper certificate thereof, and that you will give permission to Captain Buncle, who commands her, to lay in such refreshment for the voyage back as he may stand in need of.

In return for the subjects of France, whom we have thus released upon parole, we think it proper to demand the exchange of any subjects of Great Britain who may now be detained at the Islands, and to request that you will be pleased to allow them to embark on the Cartel ship on the like security.

We understand that the Rev. Mr. Yates who arrived at Pondicherry in the *Brisson* during the siege of that place and was compelled to return, is one of these. We are induced by a regard for his character and profession to request this license in a particular manner for him.

We beg leave to enclose a letter which Mr. Chevalier, who has been allowed to proceed to Europe, has delivered to us on this subject to your address.

We have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servants,

(Unsigned draft from the Governor-General and Council.)

51.

1779 O. C., 15th February, No. 13.

M. LE CHEVALIER DE LA BRILLANE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE ISLES OF FRANCE,
A BOURBON AT THE ISLE OF FRANCE.

SIR,

This will be delivered to you by the Captain of the *Warren*, a Cartel ship that the Governor and Council of Calcutta have armed for the purpose of transporting the French prisoners taken in Bengal and at the capture of Chandernagore to the isle of France. These gentlemen write you on this occasion and acquaint you with their intentions and the measures they have taken. I join with them, Sir, in beseeching you will give to this ship all the succours and refreshments that she may be in need of to facilitate her speedy return and that she may be detained no longer than can be helped.

A true translation.

J. C.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Sd.) CHEVALIER.

52.

1779, 8th March, No. 9.

SHIP *Warren* IN THE SOUTH CHANNEL :

1st March, 1779.

HON'BLE SIR,

I arrived on the 20th of last month on board the cartel ship, where I found everything so disposed as to presume that we shall be well as possible on our passage from Bengal to the Isle of France. Captain Buncle pays all the attention possible, and his officers follow his good example. My countrymen join with me in thanking you for the good choice which you have made of a person to conduct us to the place of our destination. I testify to you in particular my sense of it.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) DESCORCHES ST. CROIX.

53.

O.C. 1780, 9th March, No. 4.

THE Board deeming it necessary to resent the insult offered to the Company, and to the British Nation by the seizure and detention of the *Warren* cartel ship, whereof they had long ago received accounts, which have been lately confirmed, by undoubted authority DO RESOLVE that public notice be given to the French inhabitants of Chandernagore that the Company's ship, the *Warren*, which was sent on cartel for the accommodation and transportation of such of the subjects of France as chose to avail themselves of that conveyance to the Island of Mauritius, has been treacherously seized and detained as a prize by the French Government there, in violation of the established Laws of Nations, and that faith which is virtually binding on men in every state of society for the exercise of the common principles of humanity ; that information to this effect was long since received, but the Board, unwilling to give credit to such an extraordinary report, without the clearest proofs of the fact, have to this time waited patiently, in hopes that the return of the vessel might effectually confute it, but as she is not returned, and recent accounts have been received from persons who possessed the means of actual and personal knowledge of the circumstance that the *Warren* hath been sequestered by the Government of Mauritius and numbered in the catalogue of the Marine in the said port, the Board cannot help regarding the fact as now ascertained by all the evidence of which it is capable, and therefore deem it incumbent on them to assert the right of the British Nation, by making every retaliation, which is left in their power for so enormous a public injury : and for that purpose they do resolve and hereby order that the pensions granted by this Government to the French inhabitants now remaining by permission at Chandernagore, shall cease and determine on the first day of June next ; that all the subjects of France who have been made prisoners of war in Bengal, shall and are hereby requested to quit the provinces by the first day of October next, and that their houses and property remaining in this country after that period, shall be confiscated, to answer the losses sustained by the Company and the British Nation from the seizure of the *Warren*.

54.

1779, 5th April, A.

Emery.

Croqueville.

Le Sellier.

Nicholas Pringé.

Michael Thomé

Signed on board the cartel ship, the *Warren*, the 1st March 1779.

DESCORCHES DE ST. CROIX.

JAS. BUNCLE.

55

1782 O.C., 23rd May, No. 25.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

CALCUTTA :

15th June, 1781.

HON'BLE SIR,

After the receipt of my dispatches from the Hon'ble Board, bearing date the 15th February 1779, I proceeded with all possible expedition as they directed. On the passage I met with very severe weather, but no material accident happened, except the loss of a main top mast and the lives of three lascars. All the prisoners enjoyed exceptional health except the children who got the measles but with no fatal effect.

I anchored before Port Louis on the island of Mauritius on the 24th of April ensuing, carrying English colours with the flag of cartel. On the same day, an officer of the port came on board who carried ashore in writing the ship's name and from whence she came. In less than two hours afterwards a sloop of war of 20 guns anchored close abreast of us. After loading and shooting her guns, a Lieutenant from her brought on board of us an officer, 20 gr——and a drum, drew them upon the quarter deck, where they primed and——a centinel was placed at each gangway and another on the forecastle——, Lieutenant of the sloop carried me on board with him, where after being shown—— Captain, he gave orders to conduct me ashore to the Intendant. When I arrived, he asked me what brought me there and what I wanted. I produced the letter I had for the Governor of the Islands. He laid it down on the table, spoke some minutes with two gentlemen in military uniform, they told me the Governor was sick in the country, and directed to know my wants. I only made a request for the prisoners to be supplied with boats. I was at 9 P.M. returned on board the sloop with the Lieutenant who, by the Captain's order, conducted me back to the *Warren*.

To recite at full length the transactions of the French Government would be too tedious, I am apprehensive, and perhaps unnecessary. I hope it will suffice to give a summary account of them, being as follows:—As soon as the ship was warped into the Port on the 27th, the members of the Court of Admiralty came on board and took an inventory of every thing on the three decks and poop, sealed up my cabin chests, etc., also the ship's hatches and all the cabin and Monsoon decks : went ashore, and, in the afternoon, sent for me to the Admiralty house under an escort of a file of musketeers with fixed bayonets. I was asked many questions, the purport of which seemed to obtain information to whom the ship belonged and what she had on board. My answers were that the ship belonged to the Hon'ble Company, with ballast, some provisions, and the prisoners' luggage on board. I produced the pass for the ship, adding that I had delivered the letter for the Governor to the Intendant, and attended only the directions of Government for any further proceedings. After this I was reconducted under the same guard.

From the 8th of May till the 29th, they came on board at intervals removing from time to time everything out of the ship which they put into a hulk brought alongside for that purpose, examining all the stone ballast, in order, as they said, to search for money

and guns, which they had information of being on board, leaving all under seal when they went ashore. Not finding what they had looked for they seemed much disappointed. The keys of the ship were thus returned, having closely examined all the packages of the officers as well as mine and all papers relative to the ship they took from my *escritore* : these were the pass, the letters of instructions, the list of stores and muster list, but refused to take the Custom-house clearance. They also seized a certificate that the prisoners had given me the day we arrived specifying the fullest approbation of my conduct of their accommodation and diet during their voyage. In the afternoon of this day, being the 29th of May, myself, the Chief Officer and Purser were carried ashore and examined separately : at 8 P.M. were returned on board the *Warren* with the same sergeant with only his side arms that we went ashore with. Upon comparing our interrogations, it appeared that they were all nearly of the same nature, and wholly tending to learn where the ship was to go when she left the islands. Our answers all agreed in saying the ship was to go to Bengal direct. It appeared from what happened that it was suspected the ship was to go to Pegu, and that the information had been given as well as some..... agreed to by the Hon'ble Governor-General and the Supreme Council in the sum of Rs. 20,000 in case of any detention of the ship. My explanation of that matter was that I had solicited the Hon'ble Governor-General and the Supreme Council for permission to go to Pegu with the ship, and that the abovementioned sum was offered for such permission, but upon my receiving my dispatches, I understood the permission was not granted as it was irregular from the mode of cartels, therefore such a report was entirely void of truth, as I conceived my papers had fully proved. The Chief Mate said he was ignorant of the matter, and the Purser declared that he understood the Captain wanted to go to Pegu and knew that he had been refused.

On the 8th of June ensuing, the members of the Court of Admiralty came on board, accompanied by a Marine Officer of the Port and some European seamen, to take possession of the ship, which was done accordingly. Upon my refusing to strike my colours, the officer, as directed by the members of the Court of Admiralty, gave orders to his people to strike them and the cartel flags and to hoist those of France. The people were mustered by the list, and upon refusing to a man to work for them upon the same terms they had done on board the *Warren*, they were hurried out of the ship and sent on board a prisoner-hulk ; our slaves were taken from us. The officers and myself, with two servants and the cook, remained on board till near dark, when the members of the Court of Admiralty returned with a military officer to conduct us ashore. The former were in a great hurry, and wanted us to leave the ship with a few shifts of linen and our beds, as they said they should send our baggage after us. On our refusal to proceed in this state, the military officer supported us, and a great dispute commenced which enraged one of the members of the Court of Admiralty. The officer told him we were to have the treatment due to gentlemen, and not to be used in the manner he wanted. It is to that officer we are indebted for the very small part of our effects we then got, for none were sent after us. Four officers, myself and two servants were on our landing, carried to a small tower, and locked up together. At this time the jail distemper raged, and the second officer, the fifth day after our strict confinement, died of it. The appearance of humanity induced the Government to order him, when speechless, to be sent to the Hospital which was 14 hours before he died. They refused our having any connection with him, or even attending the burial, declaring that he died a Catholic and left his effects to the Church, the only motive they could have for removing him. A clerk, as soon as he expired, came and took from us the small remains of his effects.

After a confinement of 14 days in that miserable prison, we were on the 22nd marched out of town with a Sergeant, and did not arrive at the place appointed for us to halt till 3 P.M. The next day I was not able to proceed: two days' rest were allowed me, when I was scarce able to walk. In all my life I never experienced more fatigue than in that journey. The subsistence furnished by Government *per diem* three livres paper currency being our rupee, but provisions . . . the few kinds they have—were immoderately dear that all.....we could eat all that allowance could purchase for the day.....industry supplied us with all the breakfasts and suppers we had. I frequently made application in writing to the Governor for an addition to our subsistence, and remonstrated that the Admiralty had not, agreeably to their promise, given us our furniture, the remaining luggage, nor any stores of provision and liquors for my table (which I was in so much want of), without obtaining an answer.

During the 17 months of our captivity in these circumstances did we live barely supporting nature. The planters indeed behaved with humanity and hospitality, which alleviated in some measure the misery of our situation. I must observe that although removed to a distance from any prospect of succour or assistance, we were strictly guarded, and in such a state we had no security for our lives. The law of nations and good faith had in every instance been grossly violated, and our existence appeared almost at times an evil. We had the worst to apprehend since we could not but imagine that there was no degree of violence which such a Government would hesitate to be guilty of.

On the 7th of September, 1780, we were, on our application, all ordered round to the Port to be embarked on the Imperial ship commanded by Mr. Bolts bound for Europe. He granted—to Government for us, and obliged us to sign an instrument to him whereby we promised not to absent ourselves by any means from his ship, but to work our passages (as required by him) to any port of the Empire *gratis*, and on our arrival to surrender ourselves to the consul of France to be exchanged in the manner and from that might be established between the two nations.

We sailed from the Mauritius on the 18th of the same month, and arrived on the 27th of October at the Cape of Good Hope, where I secured sick certificates, which were delivered to Mr. Bolts, and sailed from the Cape without the Chief Officer and myself.

During my residence at the Cape, I took the liberty of addressing the Court of Directors transmitting all the information I had obtained with such observations I could recollect and trust my memory for. A copy of my letter I venture to inclose, and trust in this act I shall not incur your displeasure, as the only motive which could induce me is too obvious. On the arrival of his Majesty's Sloop of War, the *Nymph*, I made application to the Captain to afford myself and officer a passage to India which was granted. I communicated in writing to the Captain of the *Nymph*, for the instruction of the Admiral, all my remarks regarding the Marine Department at the French Island. I arrived at Fort St. George on the 4th April, 1781, and waited on the Governor at his request. He saw all my observations as I wrote to General Coote, the material parts of which letter the Governor took a copy and forwarded the original. On the 14th of the same month I dispatched my chief officer with copies of all the above mentioned papers to this Presidency, and have the happiness to find he arrived here safe.

On the 8th of June I arrived here, after an absence of 30 months, 17 of which passed in wretched captivity, experiencing almost the fate of pirates, and from an accident only, had the happiness to escape at risque of my conduct being at the merciless interpretation of the Government of a faithless enemy. Deprived of every article of property, we are left destitute. It is, therefore, Hon'ble Sir, that under the present circumstances as well as past, we

must presume to implore your protection. The injustice of a breach of faith, we hope, as Englishmen, to see revenged, and we pray that you will be pleased to grant us a continuance of the allowance we received from the contractors to our arrival. Our effects we must endeavour to replace by our future industry. We must, however, further beg leave to recommend ourselves to you, for situated as we are, by professional mariners, and long employed in that line in this country, the prospect is very unfavourable.

I am, etc.,
JOHN BUNCLE.

56.

1782. O. C., 23rd May, No. 24.

CALCUTTA :
14th February, 1782.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Seven months have elapsed since my return here, when I gave you a faithful account of my proceedings while as the Mission of Cartel by your Honours to the French Islands, a copy of which I herewith enclose, and having received no intimation of your intention towards my officers and self: from our very distressed situation I am induced to solicit your attention to this humble application from innocent victims to the faithlessness of French politics. I am particularly encouraged by the benevolent attention you were so gracious as to bestow upon us before the ship left this, in granting an indemnification in case of detention of the ship by the French.

It was from that circumstance I was enabled to provide officers for the ship (for the behaviour of the French on a similar occasion last war is not yet forgotten). I supported the officers in our captivity as I lived myself and upon their return here my engagement with them for their allowances ceased.

The crew I could engage in no other manner than by giving them more impress than customary out of the port, and promising not to demand or return in case the voyage was made before their time was out. This left them no right for any claim to the benefit of the indemnification; as I was secretly ordered to Pegu, I was convinced there could be no less by that advance, so took the risque of it upon myself which by the seizure of the ship has proved fatal to my property.

I humbly present the enclosed statement for the inspection of your Honours, with the hopes that it will facilitate the determination you may be pleased to make regarding the sufferings that we, your servants, have undergone in the performance of their duty appointed by your Honours.

I beg leave to mention that I make all possible haste to return, and that I find my utmost attention to frugality in the maintenance of my officers and self, and am induced to imagine your Honours will be pleased to reimburse me the expense I was at for our necessary support in French prison, as while we served in your ship we were allowed an ample provision besides our pay, and I think you never meant that we should spend our pay for victuals in prison.

The loss of our furniture, instruments, and books is of such a nature as can only be replaced by our future industry; yet I think it incumbent on me to make mention thereof, that your Honours may see clearly our present distressed situation. From rank, which the French pay great attention to, I am reduced to a much more pitiful predicament than my officers; for should I follow my profession and fall into their hands while this war lasts, I have the worst to expect, as they will put what construction they please upon my conduct on

leaving the ship they embarked me on for Europe and not being exchanged in regular form, so that I am deprived of means for my support, and have no resources by which I can fulfil my engagements to the officers, but what your Honours may be pleased to bestow on me.

I have, etc.,
JNO. BUNCLE,
Late Commander of the Warren Cartel. For officers and self.

57.

1782, O.C., 23rd May, A.

CALCUTTA :
15th June, 1781.

TO CAPTAIN JOHN BUNCLE.

SIR,

The rate of wages as you have stated annexed is according to the agreement with you. The appointment of officers being left with you, there was a guide for your conduct regarding them by a reference to the agreement with the Supreme Council which you had the perusal of when you represented the difficulty of obtaining officers, with whom you mentioned you were obliged to make conditions.

What advances you may have made after departure from hence can only affect yourself and have no regard to any claim to which the Supreme Council may be induced to attend from the treatment you received from the French as Commander and from your peculiar situation.

I am, etc.,
T. EVANS,
Acting for the Contractors of the *Warren*
Cartel Ship.

DISBURSEMENTS MADE FOR THE SHIP *Warren*, CARTEL TO THE FRENCH ISLANDS,
BY JOHN BUNCLE, COMMANDER OF THE SAID SHIP.

1779.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----|--|-----|-----|-------|----|---|------------|
| June 8th | ... | Cash and Sundry articles of Passage supplied the Crew before they left this river and at sea as <i>per</i> the account particulars kept by the Purser amounting to Ascot rupee | ... | ... | 4,195 | 5 | 6 | |
| | | Batta 8% | ... | ... | 334 | 8 | 7 | |
| | | | | | | | | 4,529 14 1 |
| December 31st | ... | For the maintenance of the Commander and Officers while in confinement at the Mauritius (<i>sic</i>) (the subsistence allowed by the French Government not being sufficient to live on). The accounts kept by the Purser and attested by the officers show this amounted to Sicca Rupees | ... | ... | 2,006 | 14 | 0 | |

1780.

September 12th ... For the maintenace of the Command-
er and Officers till this date when
we embarked on the Imperial Ship
for Europe as *per* do.
amounting to ... 3,005 5 4

5,012 3 4

Batta 16% ... 801 14 2

5,814 1 6

October 20th ... For board and lodging at the Cape of
Good Hope from the departure of the
Imperial Ship till our embarking on
His Majesty's Sloop of War, the

1781.

January 10th ... *Nymph*, for our ration at support,
was the sum of Spanish Dollars 404
at Ascot rupees 225% amount to
Ascot rupees ... 909 0 0

Batta 8% ... 72 11 6

981 11 6

June 15th ... Wages due to the Commander and
Officers till their return here at the
expiration of the impress received from
Calcutta as under, *viz.*: Ascot rupees
For the Commander from the 1st April
1879 till the date per margin at 500
A.R. per month and 15 days amount
to ... 13,250 0 0

To the Chief Mate at 155 A.R. per
month for 26 months amounts to ... 4,030 0 0

To the Second Mate at 105 till his
death in prison 6 months and 15 days 682 8 0

The Third Mate and Purser at 105 for
26 months and 15 days ... 2,782 8 0

The Fourth Mate at 80 for 26 months
and 15 days ... 1,280 0 0

Captain's cook and servant at 30 per
month for 26 months and 15 days ... 795 0 0

22,820 0 0

Batta ... 1,825 7 0

24,645 7 0

Current Rupees ... 35,971 2 1

Errors Excepted.

CALCUTTA:

18th June, 1781.

JNO. BUNCLE,

Late Commander of the *Warren Cartel*.

For officers and self,

57.

1782 O.C., 17th June, No. 34.

CHANDERNAGORE :

1st June, 1782.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

In consequence of your orders of the 1st April, the Arsenal of Chandernagore has been cleared out, both cookrooms and other houses have been prepared, and it is now ready for the accommodation of prisoners of war not upon parole, but I must take the liberty of observing to you that the place is only proper for the reception of men of an inferior class.

Enclosed I have the honor to forward you four letters, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4.

No. 1. Madame Desgranges, the widow of a Frenchman, who was Chief in part of the French Nation at Dacca and Jugdea, states that the subsistence allowed her by Government, *vis.*, A. Rs. 70 per month is insufficient to support her and her family, and requests that you will order it to be increased.

No. 2. Madame Carrion, whose husband is a Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, and Captain of Infantry with the rank of Brevet Major, and who was obliged to return to Europe with Governor Belcome upon the reduction of Pondicherry, makes a demand of an hundred rupees in addition to the fifty which she now receives, upon the plea of her family having increased since the departure of her husband, who was unable from the consequences of war to leave her sufficient resources to support herself and her family.

No. 3. Monsr. Culan, a Lieutenant-Colonel, who some time since surrendered himself a prisoner of war to General Sir Eyre Coote at Lucknow, and was ordered from hence for Europe, but was sent back from Fort St. George, addresses me officially, and desires that I will represent to your Hon'ble Board that he has received intimation of your resolutions respecting Monsr. Savornier, that he is of the same rank as Monsr. Savornier, and every way entitled to the same treatment, and requests that you will be pleased to pass an order to the same effect.

No. 4. Monsr. Leval claims arrears of subsistence upon the same plea and stands precisely in the same predicament as Monsr. Giblot, whose letter I had the honor to forward you on the 8th of May, and whose request was granted in your letter of the 13th.

With respect, etc.,

A. MOLONY,

Commissary.

58.

1782 O.C., 3rd July, No. 11.

TO JOHN PETER AURIOL, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Hon'ble the Supreme Council of Fort William.

HEDGILLEK :

26th May, 1783.

SIR,

My absence from the Presidency on my affairs of necessity for my support reduces me to this method of acknowledging the receipt of your favor of the 23rd instant, intimating to me the pleasure of the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Supreme Council regarding my claim for the *Warren* Cartel, which I had the honor to command.

I shall execute the necessary papers with that cheerfulness, which can only flow from my having kept a faithful account of my transactions, and being ready to answer for the same as long as it pleases God to give me breath.

I shall make all possible haste to come to town and persue the methods directed by my former Hon'ble Masters.

I remain, etc.,
JOHN BUNCLE.

59.

1782 O.C., 12th September, No. 19.

CHANDERNAGOR :
Le 19 Aout, 1782.

MESSEURS,

La nature et le devoir m'attachant à ma sœur Malde David, ce n'est que de premier de ce mois que je suis revenu à Chandernagor, et je n'ai pas osé m'adresser à vous, pour vous demander une subsistance pendant que je demeurois sous un pavillon étranger, quoique je puisse vous avouer j'en eusse un véritable besoin, étant éloignée du reste de ma famille, et ne tenant ici qu'à une sœur, et à un beau-frère qui se trouvent et se sent eux-mêmes trouvés dans des grands embarras, tout pour eux-mêmes que pour la nombreuse famille dont ils sont chargés.

Esperant tout de votre justice, je vous prie, Messieurs, de vouloir bien n'allouer la subsistance ne trouvant dans réel besoin, et n'en ayant point encore reçu depuis la prise de cette Colonie, et je suis persuadée que la titre d'infortunée est celui que est le plus fait pour vous trouver sensible.

Le suis, etc.,
JEANNE CHEVALIER.



Letters from Calcutta and Jessore in 1829=30.



THE writer of these letters was Christina Pringle, fourth daughter and seventh child of Lieutenant-General Alexander Dirom, of Mount Annan, Annandale, Dumfriesshire, and wife of John Alexander Pringle, of the Bengal Civil Service. Christina Dirom was born in Edinburgh on 20th September 1804. On 10th September 1828 she married her cousin, John Pringle, then on furlough, and sailed with him for India early in the following year, reaching Calcutta towards the end of November 1829. John Pringle was posted as Judge to Jessore, which they reached early in January 1830. Her life in India was a very short one, less than a year. Not many months later she developed consumption, a disease which had already proved fatal to two of her sisters. In September 1830 her husband brought her down to Calcutta for change and treatment. She was then ordered to England, but did not live to embark upon the homeward voyage. She died in Calcutta on 12th November 1830, and was buried in South Park Street Cemetery. The *Bengal Obituary* gives her epitaph as follows :—

"Sacred to the memory of Christiana* Anne, wife of John Alexander Pringle, who departed this life on the 12th day of November 1830, aged 26 years. He said, weep not, she is not dead but sleepeth."

The letters are of no special importance. Her short life in India was uneventful. They are interesting only as shewing the impressions made, nearly a century ago, on a girl fresh from home, first by Calcutta and then by a Bengal mofussil station. It takes us back a long time to read her hope that by the time she returned to Scotland "steam carriages" might be running from London to Carlisle. That they might penetrate even into Scotland does not seem even to have occurred to her. Yet a railway, the Glasgow and South-Western, has been running through Annandale, and within three miles of her home, Mount Annan, for well over half a century, and the rail reached Jessore about thirty years ago.

Much of the original letters has been omitted, as of no possible interest, partly references to family matters, but chiefly religious meditations.

Many of the persons mentioned in the letters are referred to by initials only. Some, but by no means all, of these I have been able to identify in footnotes,

* Christiana is a misprint for Christina. The name is correctly given on the tombstone.

The families to which both the writer and her husband belonged, the Diroms of Mount Annan, and the Pringles of Whytbank and Yair, both in the Scottish border, have sent most of their sons to serve, some to die, in India. It may therefore be of interest to begin with a short sketch of these two families, notes taken chiefly from Burke's *Landed Gentry*, supplemented by information from private family records.

I. The Diroms of Mount Annan.

Alexander Dirom, of Muireisk, Banffshire, married Anne Fotheringham, of Pourie, died 21st January 1788, leaving a son.

Alexander Dirom, born 21st May 1757, entered the army as Ensign in the 61st Regiment in 1778, served in Jamaica from 1779 to 1784, in England 1784 to 1786. In 1786, at the request of Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, he was transferred as Captain, to the 52nd Foot, then in the East Indies. There he served in the third Mysore War, as Deputy Adjutant-General of His Majesty's Forces in India, under General Medows, and was present as a Major at the first siege and capture of Seringapatam. He returned to England in 1792, and on the voyage home wrote a work on the recent war, "Narrative of the Campaign in India," * a book which still may often be seen in lists of second-hand old Indian books. On 7th August 1793 he married Magdalen, daughter of Robert Pasley of Craig, in 1795 he reached the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and soon afterwards was appointed Deputy Quartermaster-General in Scotland. In 1811 he was appointed to command the North-Western District, with headquarters at Liverpool, as Major-General. He became Lieutenant-General in 1814, retired in 1815, and died at Mount Annan on 6th October 1830. His widow survived him for over twenty years, and died at Mount Annan on 23rd October 1853. They had twelve sons and daughters.

- (1) John Pasley, born in Edinburgh, 6th November 1794, served at Waterloo as an Ensign in the Grenadier Guards, died at Mount Annan, unmarried, 2nd June 1857.
- (2) Madeleine Jemima, born in Edinburgh, 5th October 1795, died of consumption at Liverpool on 19th December 1812 † .
- (3) Sophia, born in Edinburgh, 1st September 1796, died of consumption at Liverpool, 12th January 1813.

* "A narrative of the campaign in India, which terminated the war with Tippoo Sultan in 1792, with maps and plans illustrative of the subject, and a view of Seringapatam." By Major Dirom, Deputy Adjutant-General of His Majesty's Forces in India. London. Printed by W. Bulmer and Co., and sold by G. Nicol, Pall Mall, and J. Sewell, Cornhill, 1794.

† James Hogg, "the Ettrick Shepherd," wrote a poem, "The Harp on the Hill," on the deaths of Madeleine and Sophia Dirom.

- (4) Alexander, born in Edinburgh, 14th January 1800, entered the 24th Foot, transferred to the 8th Foot on 8th June 1826, married Joanna, daughter of General Peters, 2nd November 1826, retired 10th May 1833, died of consumption at Madeira, 26th January 1837.
- (5) Robert, born in Edinburgh, 31st August 1801, merchant in Bombay, afterwards in Liverpool, died in Edinburgh, 23rd January 1879.
- (6) Leonora, born in Edinburgh, 18th June 1803, died, unmarried, in Edinburgh, 28th July 1874.
- (7) Christina (the writer of these letters), born in Edinburgh, 20th September 1804, married John Pringle, 10th September 1828, died of consumption in Calcutta, 12th November 1830.
- (8) Andrew, born in Edinburgh, 24th March 1806, drowned in the river Annan, 31st March 1811.
- (9) Anne, born in Edinburgh 28th January 1808, married the Rev. William Muir, D.D., of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, Chaplain to the Queen in Scotland, died in Edinburgh, 28th March 1887.
- (10) William, born in Edinburgh 30th September 1810, entered the Bengal Civil Service 1828, retired 1856, died at Northfield, near Annan, 9th February 1868, was thrice married, his third wife being Elizabeth, daughter of William Pringle, and niece of his brother-in-law, John Pringle.
- (11) Francis, born at Liverpool 25th March 1812, died of consumption at Mount Annan, 13th March 1830.
- (12) James, born at Liverpool 15th July 1815, entered the Royal Navy, served in the Crimean War as Post Captain, commanding the frigate *Algiers*, rose to be Rear Admiral, died at Newpark, Annandale, 12th August 1878. Was twice married, his second wife being a grandniece of his brother-in-law, John Pringle.

There are three points worthy of notice in this large family. First, the extreme rapidity with which the three eldest children followed each other. Second, the fact that no less than five, out of the twelve, died of consumption; and these not the first five, nor the last five, as one might have expected, but the second, third, fourth, seventh, and eleventh. Four of them died in early adult life, at ages varying from seventeen to twenty-six, but Captain Alexander Dirom had reached the age of 37, middle life, when the same disease proved fatal to him. One son was drowned in childhood, but the other six all lived to a fair age, from 57 to 78, and the four men among them had all

led a fairly hard life. Third, three members of the same family of Diroms married three different generations of Pringles.

John Dirom having died unmarried, the succession to Mount Annan fell to Thomas, the eldest son of John's next brother, Captain Alexander Dirom. He had seven children.

- (1) Madeleine Elizabeth, born 19th December 1827, married the Rev. John Murdoch of Kirkpatrick-Fleming on 19th January 1847, succeeded to Mount Annan on the death of her niece, Edith Dirom, in January 1888, died at Cleughead on 28th September 1896.
- (2) Barbara Leonora, born 21st September 1829, married G. W. Bell, of Fortoun, East Lothian, on 10th October 1855, died 8th September 1888.
- (3) Thomas Alexander, born at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on 24th January 1831, entered the Bengal Artillery as Second-Lieutenant in 1848, Lieutenant 3rd March 1853, served through the Mutiny, being present at the siege of Delhi, and with Sir Hope Grant's column at the relief of Lucknow, Second Captain 27th August 1858, transferred to the Royal Artillery when the Company's Artillery was broken up, commanded C Battery, C Brigade, R.H.A, retired as Lieutenant-Colonel in 1872. He married his cousin Anna, only surviving child of his uncle William Dirom, B.C.S., on 11th June 1859, and died without issue at Cleughead on 21st August 1878.
- (4) Christina Anne, born 30th September 1832, married J. A. Crawford, B.C.S., in Calcutta on 6th December 1854, died in Edinburgh 26th February 1874.
- (5) Isabella McDowall, born 10th January 1834, died 20th March 1845.
- (6) Leonora Anne, born 22nd November 1835, died at Cleughead 26th July 1874, unmarried.
- (7) Alexander, born 22nd June 1837, five months after his father's death, entered the Royal Engineers from Cheltenham, served in the China War of 1859-60, died at Madeira 9th November 1868. He left one daughter, Edith, born 13th August 1864, married Captain H. Cautley, of the Suffolk Regiment, on 11th October 1887, died at Cleughead on 24th January 1888.

Consumption, which had carried off five of the previous generation, proved fatal also to three of the next! Isabella, Leonora, and Alexander Dirom, also to the latter's only child. On her death her aunt, Madeleine

Murdoch, came into the property, and assumed the name of Pasley-Dirom; and on her death it descended to her son, Mr. Patrick Alexander Pasley-Dirom, by whose permission these letters are published.

II.—*The Pringles of Whytbank and Yair.*

The Pringles of Whytbank and Yair make their first appearance in history at a much earlier date than the Diroms. The name is supposed to be a corruption of Pelerin or Pilgrim. One Robert Hop Pringle was present at the battle of Otterburn (Chevy Chace) in 1388, as Esquire to James, Earl of Douglas. From Archibald Earl, of Douglas, he got a charter of the lands of Smailholme, in Roxburghshire, and there built the tower of Smailholme. * This Robert went along with his patron, Archibald, Earl of Douglas and Duke of Touraine, to the French wars, where both fell at the battle of Verneuil in 1424.

To come to more modern times, Alexander Pringle, of the Madras Civil Service, retired in 1783, inherited the family estate of Whytbank from his elder brother, John Pringle, and purchased Yair from the Duke of Buccleugh.† His sister, Christina Pringle, married Robert Pasley of Craig, and was the mother of General Dirom's wife.

This Alexander Pringle had five sons:—

- (1) Alexander Pringle of Whytbank and Yair.
- (2) John Alexander, entered Bengal Civil Service 1806, married Christina Dirom 10th September 1828, retired in 1836, died without issue at Castle Dykes, Kirkcudbrightshire, 8th January 1839.
- (3) William Alexander entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1809, retired 1844, died 12th January 1855, leaving a large family.
- (4) Robert Keith, Bombay Civil Service, died 12th January 1897.
- (5) David, born 1806, entered the Bengal Civil Service 1823, retired 1851, died 22nd December 1889.

* One of Scott's poems is entitled "The Baron of Smailholm."

† In the Introduction to Canto II of *Marmion*, Scott writes:—

"From Yair, which hills so closely bind
Scarce can the Tweed his passage find

* * *

Her long descended lord is gone
And left us by the stream alone.
And much I miss those sportive boys
Companions of my mountain joys."

A foot note in the edition of 1808 says that the long descended lord of Yair was Alexander Pringle of Whytbank, the "sportive boys" his sons. They must, however, have been much younger than Scott, who was born in 1772. Scott was then living at Ashiestiel, about two miles above Yair, on the Tweed.

William Alexander Pringle's family were as follows :—

- (1) Alexander, Madras Army, died 1854.
- (2) William John, born 1831, died unmarried 1883.
- (3) Robert, born 15th February 1832, M.D., Edinburgh, 1854, entered Bengal Medical Service 4th October 1854, retired 8th December 1884, died 13th January 1899.
- (4) George Stewart, Bengal Army, killed in the Mutiny, 6th June 1857, unmarried.
- (5) David, Bengal Army, died without issue 1874.
- (6) Mary Anne, married Archibald Speirs, B.C.S.
- (7) Anna Charlotte, married Edward Alexander Samuells, Bengal Civil Service, who succeeded Patna Tayler as Commissioner of Patna after the Mutiny. Their two eldest sons, Colonel William Leicester Samuells, of the Bengal Commission, and Charles Archibald Samuells, B.C.S., were serving in Bengal until a few years ago. Their eldest daughter, Isabella, married Admiral James Dirom, as his second wife.
- (8) Elizabeth, married William Dirom, as his third wife.

Both Diroms and Pringles were connected with another Scottish Border family, whose sons have made a far bigger figure in history than either of them ; the Malcolms of Burnfoot, near Langholm.

George Malcolm, of Burnfoot, married on 18th August 1761, Margaret, daughter of James Pasley, of Craig, so General Dirom's wife was a first cousin of the "Knights of Liddesdale." He died 13th May 1803, she died 9th November 1811, leaving seven daughters and ten sons. Four of these sons rose to the dignity of Knight Commander of the Bath, an honour much less frequently bestowed a century ago than it is now, and were popularly known as "The Knights of Liddesdale." They were :—

- (2) Sir James Malcolm, K.C.B., Colonel of Marines, died 1849.
- (3) Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.
- (4) General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., Governor of Bombay, born 2nd May 1769, died 30th July 1833.
- (10) Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm, K.C.B., born 1782, died 14th June 1851.

The eighth son, David, who died at Bombay in 1826, was the father of General Sir George Malcolm, of the Bombay Army.

Sir Pulteney, who was born 21st February 1768, and died 20th July 1838, succeeded to the property of Burnfoot, and was succeeded by his son, William Elphinstone Malcolm, who died only last year, in December 1908.



CHRISTINA PRINGLE.

From a Miniature.

Christina Pringle's Letters(I.) *To her Parents, on Board the Eliza, 19th November 1829.*

I am sure you will be delighted to hear that we have got the Pilot on board to-day, and that we have anchored off Saugor Roads. Oh Mama! the smell and the sight of land is unspeakably delightful, though the land we see is low and flat, and very unlike the last land we saw . . . the beautiful coast of Devonshire and Cornwall. We only see a little and that at a distance, apparently trees growing out of the water, and black lumps for houses. The island of *—, the first land we saw, Captain Sutton told me has but lately been deserted by the sea and become an island—he has often sailed over it.

The Pilot Boats are very different from those in England, there they were sweet little fairies, here they are very pretty but large with cabins, and many people in bad health go a-cruizing in them for the benefit of the sea air. I believe they are very nicely fitted up. The Black Sailors look very odd, but I have only seen them at a distance. The Pilot came on board with the leadsmen with him, young lads for fathoming the water, who begin in this way, and in due time rise to the rank of Pilot, so here it is quite a profession with its different steps, not as in the Channel where they are fishermen with licenses for being Pilots. The Pilot has a black servant, a Mussulman, with him. He has given me rather a pleasing idea of Black Servants, so clean and active, with his long dark curled moustache and dressed in white. It requires to be more than four months at sea properly to appreciate the blessing of seeing land, and hoping soon again to touch it and to walk on it, and oh to get potatoes and fresh butter, and what is dearer than all, to be welcomed by someone we love. Oh how happy we shall be to meet Willie, to see his dear Mount Annan face and to get letters from Home—to see your dear handwritings and to hear of you is certainly next best to the greatest blessing in life which is seeing you all again. Oh that that day may soon come round!

21st November.

The steamboat has now come for us and is tugging us up. I am enchanted at being so near land and seeing it again. I don't know whether it is really pretty, but the green trees and yellow fields of rice and the people taking in their Harvest looks like a scene of enchantment—if I could but see Papa and Anne riding about looking at the Harvest taking-in. I was much amused watching the persons in the boat—we saw them clean it, clean themselves, prepare and eat their breakfast, then some of them brought out books and read, some of them kissing the book before they began to read, so I suppose it was a Koran—others worked and others made nets, some slept and some of them played the amiable and sat scratching each other, which put me in mind, dear Mama, of some of your Portuguese anecdotes. We also saw them cook and eat their dinner.

(II.) *To her Sisters, Calcutta, 25th November 1829.*

Yesterday we arrived in this city of Palaces. I felt disappointed—disappointed—disappointed! to be sure it was a dreadful day of rain, and I daresay I shall admire Garden Reach more when I see it on a fine day. Arriving here was like setting off from London—the rain poured and nothing but bustle and confusion with all its horrors, and in the midst of all I turned home-sick, for going down in the chair reminded me so of being holsted up in it, and Willie† looked so like Frank, and land here so like land at Home, that I could scarcely fancy myself far from you. David Pringle‡ came to the ship with John and I

* *Island in Sunderbans*; name left blank in original.

† *Willie*; W. M. Dirom, B.C.S., 1828-56.

‡ *David Pringle*; B.C.S., 1823-51.

came here with him in his buggy. You cannot think how happy I was to see a horse again and to feel myself driving instead of sailing.

Calcutta on the way up appeared to me more like a panorama than a reality.

(III) *To her Parents, Calcutta, 2nd December 1829.*

Willie takes me a drive almost every evening on the Course just after sunset—he is very fond of driving in the fashionable part to see and be seen, however I sometimes persuade him to drive me along the river side and there it is really beautiful. The country though flat is very green and pretty—it is so unlike anything at Home I can scarcely describe it, and yet I cannot say that I ever feel astonished at anything I see, and often forget I am in such a far distant place. It appears odd seeing carriages, coaches, and gigs, filled with rich natives, who have become very fond of driving about in English carriages, in short there are all sorts and varieties of curious vehicles, palanquins, tonjons,* carriages, and pony carriages drawn by very small bullocks. The English carriages here have windows and venetians all round them for air—they look very shabby after the London equipages and the horses though pretty are small and insignificant looking in harness.

The houses have all verandahs, some roofed over and others not, and the windows venetians; there is a place at the top of the house for walking upon; yet, dear Mama, there is a great mixture, it is “the highest castle and the lowest cave,” for next to a very fine house you see some miserable native huts; I never feel I am in a town, it seems to me like an immense mass of straggling huts and wretched villages, for the Bazaars have that appearance. No shops with their gay windows to tempt one, but just warerooms—there are also native bazaars. It is very troublesome driving through Calcutta, for the black coachmen have no rules about keeping the right hand in passing but drive on quite reckless of everything; then the people are straggling like geese on a common, and the currying machines and still worse the bullock carts grumbling and squeaking away.

4th December 1829.

Yesterday we dined at Government House. The rooms are very handsome and many of the floors are of marble, but they are rather wanting in height, an uncommon defect in this country. Well, John, David, and I after ascending the broad staircase, walked into a marble-floored room with an ottoman in the middle of it and a great many chairs in a half circle. As we entered, one of the aide-de-camps came and offered me his arm and took me up to Lady William Bentinck,† when I made my courtsey and she made hers and then handed me to a chair. Who do you think I should see—our fat blooming, good natured

* *Tonjon*, a sort of sedan or portable chair, “like the body of a gig with a head to it.” (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 709.) This mode of conveyance is now quite extinct.

† *Lady William Bentinck*, wife of the Governor-General. Before her marriage she was Lady Mary Acheson, second daughter of the first Earl of Gosford. She married Lord William Bentinck on 19th February 1803, and died in May 1843.

Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, second son of the third Duke of Portland, was born on 14th September 1774. He was Governor of Madras, in which office he succeeded the second Lord Clive, from 30th August 1803 to 11th September 1807, when he was removed from that post, by the Directors of the East India Company, who considered him responsible for the mutiny at Vellore. Twenty years later, in July 1827, he was appointed Governor-General, and arrived in July 1828. He left India on 20th March 1835, and died in Paris on 17th June 1839.

Captain, Archdeacon and Mrs. Corrie were there, Mr. L., a Mr. C. L.* and several others whose names I did not know. We were the last in arriving, so very soon after the grand move to dinner was made. I was very comfortably seated. Here it is the custom for either two or one gentleman to hand a lady to the dinner table and I was handed by the two Mr. L.'s and sat between them. They are both pleasant men. There seemed to be very little general conversation going on, and at most parts of the table silence reigned. There was very little state or show (I suppose Lord and Lady William keep up less than any of their predecessors), the dinner was good enough but Frenchified as they keep French cooks, but they had no rareties or particularly fine wines but everything economical. After we had sat the usual time at dinner Lady W. made a move and off marched both ladies and gentlemen in the same order in which they had advanced to the charge. We went to the drawing-room and seated ourselves, just about as prim as stiff parties are at home; however I got into a comfortable easy chair with a footstool so I had no reason to complain. We entered into conversation and Lady William told us how ill her husband had been since he came to India, how many ounces of blood he had lost (it was all I could do to preserve a decent gravity), and then informed us of her dutiful conduct in sitting up with him till two in the morning, which I readily believed as the good Lady looked very sleepy. Perhaps I forgot to mention that the Governor was too unwell to make his appearance at dinner. About an hour after coffee one of the *blackies* came with a bottle in one hand and a glass in the other, asking everyone if they would have some wine which nobody took. Mr. L. told me that this was a sign that we had staid long enough, but I suppose Mrs. Corrie had either forgot or was in a brown study, for she sat for some time before she remembered she should depart. At last she got up and made her curtsy, and I got up and made mine, and up all the other Dames got and made theirs, and then the two Mr. L.'s. handed me downstairs and we departed.

Lady William looks about 50. She struck me as being very like Mrs. Admiral Murray. She seems to be rather a serious person and enters apparently with *heart* into the good that might be done here. Archdeacon Corrie is a most venerable benevolent looking man. Both John and David are acquainted with him.

(IV.) *To her parents, 23rd December 1829. On board a Budgerow.*

Yesterday afternoon we set off in the carriage for Barrackpore, arrived there, and at night came on board of our Budgerow, where we got tea, slept and got up at 5 this morning and took a drive in Barrackpore Park. It is really very pretty and like a Nobleman's place at home but no hilly ground. Somehow it made me forget I was in India; the trees to be sure are different from those in England and some of them are very beautiful. I had no idea till I saw it that the natives could be metamorphosed into such a fine body of men. As for the Menagerie that used to be kept here, it is no more. We then came on board our boat and breakfasted, and are now falling slowly down with the tide. We shall get opposite the Botanic Gardens to-morrow morning about 5 and intend walking there and afterwards returning to Calcutta.

24th December.

We slept last night in our boat and enjoyed the sail yesterday very much. I rather like travelling in boats, you see the prettiest part of the country without any trouble, and yet you are comfortable, for in the Budgerow we had two very good rooms, a Pinnace is, I believe, a better kind of boat. The scenery is very pretty on both sides of the River, and

* Mr. L. and Mr. C. L.; I do not know to whom these initials refer. [Perhaps Chas. Lushington. Ed., B. F. & P.]

there are innumerable Hindu Temples, and the Hindus are constantly bathing themselves, washing and saying their prayers in the water—it is of a surety a very clean religion if nothing more can be said for it. I suppose you have heard that the *suttees** are done away with, which is the best thing the Governor has done. When we were laying at anchor off the shore our organs of smelling were much annoyed and discomposed by the passing of dead bodies thrown into the Ganges. We also passed a place yesterday where the Hindus burn their dead. Last night in our boat Janet† and I were devoured by ants and mosquitos. This morning we took a long walk in the Botanic Gardens which is very beautiful and very extensive, a well kept wood and shrubbery as well as the garden. There are all the trees, shrubs, and flowers of Indian growth. I was amused at seeing hedges, etc., of what Robert Ross‡ takes the greatest care in the Hot House at home. After walking about for 1½ hours we returned to our Boat quite tired. We have not walked either so long or so far since we walked on the lovely banks of the Annan. We had a sweet sail to Calcutta and saw Garden Reach in great beauty. John is appointed Judge at Jessore which is, I believe, 80 miles from Calcutta; we shall likely leave this in the very beginning of January. Mr. M.§ is Collector at Jessore. I am happy someone is there that we know about. It is a small station, no church, no military, however it is a very easy distance from this.

(V.) *To her sister Nora. On board the Budgerow. 23rd December 1829.*

Tell dear Anne I feel much obliged for her letter and for her advice to me to keep with the serious not the worldly set. I could not help being—I don't know what to call it—on reading that part of her letter in which she mentions that she had dreamt that I was dressed in my Pink Satin and Tulle and in the Theatre—it was curious that the very dress was lying out on a chair ready to be put on to go to a Party at Government House when I was reading her letter, and it was the first time I had seen it since I came to India.

Last Sunday, John and I took a walk in the burying ground in Calcutta; it is a little way out of town. The walks are very neatly kept and the grass cut short; it is crowded with monuments. I never saw such a field of monuments before. There are many that look very old, for in this country things soon go to decay, and as they are made of brick and plastered over the sooner. The graves are almost all of persons from 15 to 50 years of age or quite children, but no very old or very young persons. The men who take care of it call themselves gardeners. You will remember the passage in the Bible where the gardener is mentioned when our Saviour rose from the Grave. Here also the natives go mourning and wailing about the streets when their friends are dead—the mourners are sometimes hired, in this country also the Sheep follow the Shepherd instead of being driven before him.

(VI.) *To her mother, Jessore, 5th January 1830.*

We have just arrived at Jessore. Last night we travelled *Dak*. You cannot think how odd we all looked. John and I were in Palanquins, Janet was in a *Tonjon*, a very nice kind of thing like a gig with a large hood and no wheels, and the halfcaste girl who we have brought with us from Calcutta was in a Doolie, a conveyance in imitation of a

* *Suttee, Sati*; the practice of burning widows with their husbands' corpses, abolished by Lord W. Bentinck in 1829.

† *Janet*; Janet Halliday, a Scotch maid, brought by the writer from Mount Annan.

‡ *Robert Ross*; the gardener at Mount Annan.

§ *Mr. M.*, Collector at Jessore; Robert Wilson Maxwell, entered Bengal Civil Service 1809, Collector of Jessore in 1829, of Rajshahi in 1831. In January 1830 Mr. D. Macfarlan was appointed Collector of Jessore. He entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1813.

Palanquin made with bamboos. John sometimes took a turn in the Tonjon and so did I. There were in all 40 bearers; some of them carrying our luggage, which consisted of 2 small boxes and a bag, and the others took turn and turn about in carrying us; those who did not carried lighted torches in their hands—going through a dark wood it really had sometimes a quite romantic effect, and I thought of the Tales of Banditti. It is a pity this Bengal is such a flat country for it takes away the Romance of the Scene. We crossed many a piece of water and one time I awoke from a sound sleep and found myself sailing away among a gang of Blacks with torches in their hands muttering a language I could not understand. I looked out and saw a Palanquin next me and called John! No one answered; then Janet! still no one answered; at last I peeped in and beheld an old black man. I began to fear they had taken me a wrong road and was thinking in what manner I could make them understand me when the boat stopped—we landed and I found Janet there and the boat returned for John. I was much relieved, of a surety travelling in a carriage is much more comfortable.

(VII.) *To her friend, Miss Anne Mair, Jessore. 7th January, 1830.*

MY DEAR ANNE,

Once upon a time you told me that you were determined to marry a Scrap-Book Man, and in case you may not have found one at home I lose no time in writing to inform you that I have found one in the wilds of Jessore, not only a Scrap-Book Man, but one who has musical boxes, musical watches—an organ, and last not least a musical picture. He is also a capital man of business, is of one of the oldest families in Scotland—has a capital house and pretty place and everything in very good style—barring books, for never a one have I been able to find since I came here, saving old almanacs and directories and one or two old magazines; but then Anne you will not care for that, for there are four Scrap-Books of immense dimensions, all collected, arranged, and pasted by his own hands. Surely you will come. He is not good looking, but you know the old proverb—handsome is as handsome does—so I am in duty bound to think him an Adonis, for he received us most kindly and when obliged to go to Calcutta on business he left us in full possession and authority over his house, his servants, his eatables (among which are a great many good things and to my delight I found a bottle of sugar almonds and another of carries which I have almost devoured, pray forgive me for they will all be new filled for you), his horses, and his carriages, and begged us to remain as long as possible, and he would come back and play Landlord to us as soon as he could. But indeed Anne I feel so completely at home and mistress here, that I have no idea of giving up my rule over all those things and what is still more valuable over the Scrapbooks and musical instruments, unless to you, and if you come all the way here to take command I will promise like a good girl to curtsy out of the place and to crown you Queen of the Scrapbooks, musical instruments, the house, place, servants, and eatables, horses, and carriages, and Mrs. Robert Maxwell. Now Anne, allow that a friend in need is a friend indeed, and here have I looked out and found the very person to suit you. The only return you can make is to come out without loss of time and reward me by telling me Dumfries news and being a woman companion to me, for I am the only lady here, and I pant for a gossiping dame like you that can talk of the past, the present, and the future, for Mr. Maxwell will be ready to go home about the same time as John. Now Anne, I am angry with you already for never a scrape of a pen have I got from you, you faithless fair, and I would not now have written you had it not been such important business, and if you come I will forgive all your sins, but if you do not I shall never forgive you, and really, Anne, there is no very great reason to prevent you, for you are fond of travelling, fond of sailing, fond of seeing the world. I shall meet you in Calcutta,

there shall be a bonfire here to give you a warm welcome and you shall find the four Scrap-books all newly bound ready to welcome you, and they will no doubt be presented to you at the door by the kneeling compiler. Can you resist such a temptation—surely not? I hope not. You will get this in May, likely by July you might be all ready, and by November you might be crowned Queen over all the above things and be living a stone throw off me—then we might help to keep each other evergreen for I fear I shall wither if none of you come. He really is a very pleasant and excessively kind man and he has a Billiard Table. I daresay now in sober earnest you think I am a fool, but you really must excuse me, for I have few opportunities of playing the fool, as you will easily believe, I seize with avidity those I have. Oh! what grand folly we used to have in Edinburgh last winter! What a treat one day of it would be now. I hope next week we shall be settled in our own house, and then I intend to draw, and get into regular busy hours, for I must be busy, for John is from 9 to 4 in the Court House, and if I am not very busy I shall be thinking too much of dear Home during that time and incapacitate myself from enjoying the gossip and talking when John comes in. However when you come we shall manage to draw together in the forenoons when John and Mr. M. are busy, for there is no going out but before breakfast and after half-past four or five in the afternoon. In the midst of all my folly I must not forget to wish you dear Anne and your dear Mother many happy returns of the year, and I trust dear Anne that it may be the will of God that we should meet again on earth and enjoy many a happy day together, that every blessing may attend you is my earnest prayer.

Shall I take the trouble of telling you about the Government House Ball on the 1st of January? I daresay I will, though I weary of harping over the same tune to many. Well, the rooms were splendid, there were about seven hundred there, two hundred of them natives of high rank. They looked very well and were really some of them magnificently dressed in robes sparkling with gold and silver, magnificent shawls and brilliant jewels. I was amused seeing them walk about hand in hand like children at Home. The other 500 were like 500 men and women at any Ball, all bedressed, becurled and befeathered, and black coats, brown coats, and red coats. There was not much beauty in the room, and they do not dance with the same spirit as they do in fair Edina. Still they waltz and dance away at quadrille times about. The supper looked very well, but was economical likewise, for the Governor's Bee* is economy in every department. He sent an apology and said he was sick. I believe he is not fond of these public turns-out. Lord Dalhousie† also sent one, for his eyes are weak and he cannot bear the glare of light. Lady Willam was there, very handsomely dressed, and looked and played her part very well as usual. Lady Dalhousie was also there, all befeathered and beflowered, and talking away, and playing the agreeable to everyone she knew, and getting introduced to others. The Lord Padre‡ was there, seemingly much amused with the gay and varied scene before him. We came away immediately after supper, and like the Fancy Ball and all those public turns-out, though well amused, I was quite satisfied by that time. I like Calcutta very well indeed, and I daresay I shall also like this place, but I never can fancy myself at Home in India, all the houses have such an open look, they have not the dear snug Home feeling of that sweet little drawing-room at dear Mount Annan, and indeed John and I talk so much of

* *The Governor's Bee*; i.e., "Bee in his Bonnet," or fad.

† *Lord Dalhousie*; George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie, born 1770, Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, 1829-32, died 21st March 1838; father of the great Governor-General.

‡ *The Lord Padre*; The Right Reverend John Mathias Turner, born 1786, Bishop of Calcutta 1829, died in Calcutta 7th July 1831.

getting back to dear Scotland that I always fancy myself as a Bird of Passage here, and I feel as if I could fly away over the seas at a moment's warning. As to the luxuries of the East, that one hears so much of at Home, I have never yet been able to find them out. To be sure you have a great gang of servants, but as Willy is always exclaiming, "Give me a minister's lass instead of the dozens of them, and I am sure I will get twice as much done with half the trouble." Then as to being carried about in those palanquins, I am sure they are not one-tenth part of the comfort of travelling in a carriage with post horses. As we came here the other night we had about 50 bearers, 2 palanquins for John and me, a Tonjon for Janet, and a doolie for a little half-caste girl I got from the Free School—well, so many carried us, and so many walked alongside to relieve the others, some carried boxes and some lighted torches, but though it looked much more pompous, yet it was not half so comfortable as travelling in daylight at home through a lovely country comfortably in a carriage, with nice Inns to tarry at when one wants a rest. Then Punkahs and Tatties are, I believe, perfect necessities in the warm weather, in short you could not live without them, but a good climate is much preferable. Then you certainly keep more horses and carriages, but then one cannot walk, work in a garden, or anything; they are, of course, necessities. To be sure you may have as many Blacks as you choose at your beck, and dozens to run after you, and all that sort of thing, but that is not one's taste and one does not like it, at least I don't, for I like the freedom of doing things for myself and keeping in home ways as much as possible.

I think it is all very well to come to India for a few years, one sees the world, gets their mind opened, and their ideas enlarged, and often I am much amused and interested with the different habits and customs of the natives, and when John is with me to explain things I really get information about them, but as to anyone ever fancying to live all their lives in India is what I cannot understand. The country about here is rather pretty, but all Bengal is very flat, indeed not even a hillock. John has come here as Judge. Mr. Maxwell is Collector, and likely a Magistrate or Assistant will be sent, and there is a Doctor. That is all the Society stationary here, but we are only 80 miles from Calcutta, and 70 from Dacca, which is a large station. So we shall likely see a good many birds of passage. One's staying long or short here depends much on how we like the place, and whether any vacancies above John take place, which would make us move. But if you will come to your Scrapbook we will promise at all hazards to stay a year or two. Now, Anne, this is disinterested friendship. John joins me in best love to you and your mother, and I am ever your most affectionate friend C. A. PRINGLE.

(VIII.) *To her sister Nora, Jessore, 18th January, 1830.*

We do not much like the house we have at present, but hope soon to get another that will suit us better. At present we spend our day as follows: we rise at 7 and take a walk, have prayers at half-past eight and then breakfast. After that I arrange my house accounts, order dinner, etc. John assists me just now, for I understand so very little Hindustani, then John goes to the Cutchery (the Court House). For an hour I read the Bible with Scott's Commentary which I find deeply interesting, I have begun at Genesis. After that I draw and write for about two hours; then take up my work with my dear pictures beside me At two I read History and about three John comes in. We dine about half-past three or four, and then take a drive for one and a half hours, come in, talk of Home, take our tea, and then John often reads aloud and I work; about nine go to prepare for bed. When anyone dines with us we make the dinner hour 6-30, but when alone we do as I have told you, partly because I felt dull taking luncheon alone and John could not come home at

that time, and partly because I had got into a way of sleeping ill and did not like dining late I think Janet likes India pretty well though it is not the Fairy Land she expected My little half-caste girl is coming on nicely, and I think Janet will make her a good servant. Her name is Elizabeth I am getting quite accustomed to the Black servants and like them very well ; there is one very nice old man here called Gopal ; he is John's servant and has been with him ever since 1812.

(IX.) *To her sister Anne, Jessore, 1st February 1830.*

Did I ever tell you that the three mares have arrived safe and sound and are really the Three Graces. They are rather darker than dear La Belle. I have called them after us three. I did so by chance the day they came, and is it not funny they have turned out like us. Nora is rather the smallest and such a sweet good-natured creature, and she has a very pretty small head and nose and allows one to clap and make of her, and when they are all turned out in the morning to take a run Nora always allows herself to be caught when proper, she is the sweetest of the sweet. Then Anne is rather taller than Nora and rather shorter than Tina. She is very pretty indeed and very mischievous and playful ; she has no idea of being caught when it is time to come in, but keeps the groom running after her for long, but she is a very sweet Puss. Tina is the tallest and a very nice animal and very fond of her two sisters. She does not know sometimes which to go with, and one morning is caught easily with Nora and the next runs wild with Anne. I have taken possession of Nora and Anne for myself and given John Tina, and as Nora and Anne are at home together they are generally run in the carriage and poor Tina alone in the Buggy; however now and then she is to have a run with each of her dear sisters—she lies between them in the stables. I had such a work teaching the black servants their names. I was obliged to make them repeat them morning and evening to me and they pronounce them so funny. They call Nora, Norum, which means Splendour, and Anne, Ain, which means Beauty, and my namesake is not like anything they have in their language. So much for the Three Graces who I envy when I think how happy we three should be together, only our happiness would, I hope, be a little more rational. . . . It is some days since I began. I will tell you some things we have arranged to do. First that John is going to read prayers and a sermon every Sunday forenoon in his Court House for the benefit of all Christians at this station and as the only substitute for going to Church—this is not an original plan of our own, only a good one that has been adopted before at this station, although it has been discontinued for some years, but John and I thought so well of it that he determined to put it again in practice. I doubt not you will approve of it. Another plan is, you must know there is a missionary here, a half-caste from the School and Missionary Society at Serampore ; he overlooks several schools, there is a little Female Christian School consisting of a widow and five or six children from 3 to 8 years old and a girl older than that—they speak only Bengall and learn their chapters and questions in that language. We intend often to visit this school. The missionary told me they were sadly in want of someone to teach the women to knit and sew, so I told him if he would send them to me for a couple of hours every morning I would get them taught, for I had a European maid and a half-caste girl and that they would teach them, and Elizabeth would be interpreter between Mrs. Halliday and them and that I would overlook them. I have sent to Calcutta for scissors, thimbles and knitting needles. It will be a great source of interest and amusement to all of us. They are to get their lessons in Janet's room from 11 till 1. I am so happy that some mode of being a useful member of Society has cast up. You cannot think what a wild desolate cry the jackals have and there are such numbers in our compound and the bats fly about the rooms. This is a

great time here for marriages among the natives and they go drumming about night and day. There is a very nice old black man who was formerly with Sir R. D* and has been with John ever since he came to India, his name is Juggo Muhun, an officer in the Court, head officer in the Civil Court. I had a long talk with him to-day. He told me his wife was just dead and that her sons had taken her body to the Ganges, and that he had three sons who were married, but he had never seen their wives as it is against the custom for a Bengali to see his son's wives. He told me that he and his three brothers with their children and children's children and old mother all lived in the same house, but that he had given up living with them to live with Mr. Pringle, who he told me he considered his only relation and that he intended to stay with him till he died, for he was an old man and had left all to live with him.

(X). *To her Sister Nora. 15th February 1830. Jessore.*

Yesterday arrived by dák a little lady by name Mrs. R.† Her husband is Collector at and a friend of Mr. Maxwell's, who wrote John she was to pass this way and begged we would exert our hospitality so far as to entertain her during the heat of the day. Well she and her brother arrived about 10, and as it was the first Sunday of John's reading prayers at the Cutchery I did not wish to stay at home, so I advised the little Dame to go to bed and off we set to Church. John read prayers and Mr. and Mrs. F.‡ and myself, Janet, Elizabeth, two mites (half-caste) and the two missionaries attended. When we returned the little lady was bustling about. She is short, not a pretty face but very fair, and about nineteen. She knows all the gossip and scandal of India. I was much amused when she said in a most serious voice "Indeed Mrs. Pringle I think that the worst thing of India is that one must always be out of fashion, though I get the 'Belle Assemble' and dresses both from England and Calcutta, yet I always dread that I am old-fashioned in my dress, and now when I am going to Calcutta I fear something about me will look out of fashion; it is so difficult in the Mofussil to hear of every change." She looked at my pictures and admired them very much, then she seized on the Scrapbooks and *dabbed* them over with her little fingers and said she had a pretty little drawing of one of the Swiss Lakes that I must allow her to put in one of the Scrapbooks. I intend placing it in yours and I daresay when you see it you will remember this story. We gave them dinner and then off they set. Yesterday evening when we were out in the carriage we passed a great many elephants that were for sale and got out and looked at them and John instructed me in what was and was not a handsome elephant. The young Rajah, a lad about 19, was there looking at the elephants; he is really a very gentlemanly looking youth and has a great deal of manner and self-possession; he has splendid eyes and beautiful slender hands and taper fingers. He asked us to go to his house but we told him we had not time then but would call on him some day soon. Well, dear Nora, this is the 4th of March and a day of such heavy rain, thunder and lightning. I have been busy teaching my black scholars to

* *Sir R. D.*; perhaps Major-General Sir Rufane Donkin, who commanded a Division in the third Maratha War, 1817-18.

† *Mrs. R.*; the name of the district where her husband was Collector is left blank. I cannot find any Civilian whose name begins with R stationed at that time in any district (Dakka, Bakarganj, etc.), from which one would pass through Jessore on the way to Calcutta. Possibly the initial may be B, not R. Arthur Champion Barwell, who entered the B.C.S. in 1804, was Collector of Dakka in 1830.

‡ *Mr. and Mrs. F.*; a Directory of 1830 shows two indigo planters, whose name begins with F, at Jessore in that year, W. Fogarty and James Fraser.

knit and I by myself have taught 3 girls to knit who never saw wires before! If once taught to knit stockings well they will make a very good livelihood of it There is one thing I am going to set about, *vis.*, to make papa a quilted cover of Bauglepore silk and I will make Auntie and Anne dressing gowns of the same material I am sorry to say this is a place where I can neither begin a collection of Indian curiosities for myself or send specimens to you as it is famous for nothing but roguery, However I am a busy Bee at your Scrapbook. I must tell you of poor Bully. A great wild cat took a fancy to him and came prowling into the house a great deal. Last night it took up its quarters in my room and I called John to the rescue and he and two bearers went with sticks in hand and hunted and killed the enemy. It went to my heart to have the animal killed yet it was Gasper's only hope of life.

(XI.) *To her Sister Anne. 16th March 1830. Jessore.*

This is the 22nd. Mr. and Mrs. B.* have come. He is quite a man of the world, rather Frenchified in his manners. She is a stout elderly woman, is very agreeable indeed and knows about everybody. She cannot live without Calcutta news and gets hers regularly every day from some friend there I am going to make Mama a cloak of Bauglepore silk, in the meantime I am working her a net handkerchief. Am I not very busy?

(XII.) *To her Sister Nora. 25th March 1830.*

Well dearest our Company Day is over and though "I say it that should not say it" it went off most prosperously and I got a great many compliments paid to me upon having our house done up with so much taste and so comfortable and Home-looking. Mrs. B. is a very nice woman. She is going to take a drive with me this afternoon. I feel quite happy at getting a sensible woman to talk with and her forte is certainly conversation . . . Mrs. B. fell in love with the chair work and thought the drawing-room to be would look so pretty. I gave her my convolvulus wreath pattern to work one for herself, so any pretty wreath you may meet with or bouquet of flowers you may send me as a pattern to work, instead of doing a second edition of the convolvulus I have called the horse we bought from David, Frank.

3rd April.

I took a ride this morning Frank carried me very well and I had a pleasant ride, though it is rather warm work even at 6 in the morning.

(XIII.) *To her Father and Mother. 19th April 1830. Jessore.*

Last Sunday was Easter Sunday with us and also a great day among the Hindus. We went out to see the Churruck which is a kind of religious penance they perform to get free of all their old sins and then begin a new score with a clear conscience. There is in each bazaar or village a long pole erected which has sticks across it at the top from which hang down 8, 6, or 4 ropes, and the Hindus who come to get free from their sins get an iron hook put through the muscles in the small of the back and then the rope is fastened to those iron hooks or rings and there they swing for about 5 minutes. I believe it is only done by the very low castes. They must suffer much pain, but they don't appear to do so, and go on in most easy style folding their hands and constantly changing their attitudes. I believe they stupefy themselves beforehand with opium. You may suppose I was not greatly pleased by the sight, though I wished to go, as it is stupid not to see the customs of the country when in it. There

* *Mr. and Mrs. B.*; probably Edward Richard Barwell, entered B.C.S. 1805, Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, Bakarganj, Jessore, and Baraset, 1830.



Left to Right — 1. The Right Revd. John Mathias Turner, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Died 7th July 1834. Aged 45. 2. Sir Robert Henry Blosset, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bengal. Died 1st Feb. 1823. Aged 47. 3. Sir Christopher Fuller, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bengal. Died 30th Mar. 1824. Aged 59. 4. Sir Benjamin Deane, Master, Knight, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature. Died 21st Oct. 1837. Aged 43.

were great crowds of the natives and plenty of their monotonous music to keep up the spirits of the victims.

Do you know dear Papa that we have never seen a stone, large or small, since we lost sight of dear England's beautiful shore; there is not such a thing for many hundred miles in this part of Bengal, not even a small stone or pebble. John and I are planning taking a trip to Dacca and Chittagong in October, instead of going to Calcutta, by way of change of air and scene and to open our minds by seeing the world. We have quite made up our minds about going Home in the steamboat *via* Alexandria; it is only a six weeks instead of a six months' cruise, and if it succeeds John declares he will eat his Christmas dinner with you all in 1835, and perhaps by that time steam carriages will be established and we shall fly down in a few hours from London to Carlisle, where I hope we shall find old William* waiting for us.

22nd April.

Since writing the above I have been mounted on the back of an elephant; it was a very large one and we got into the howdah. John and I sat on the front seat just like a seat in a gig, and we put Janet and Elizabeth on the seat behind and off we set. I never felt so much alone in the world before: the houses, people, etc., seemed like babyhouses and dolls—the motion is not at all easy or pleasant and gave me quite a sea-sick feeling; in short it is like all other Indian luxuries, best at a distance Dear Mama do not think I am lazy in the morning. Now I get up every morning at 5 o'clock and either we ride on horseback or go out in the buggy for an hour. Certainly the air is fresher in the morning, but it is oppressively close and warm even before sunrise. I am the only lady at the station who is active in the morning, the others all slumber and sleep.

(XIV.) To her Sister Nora. 2nd May 1830. Jessore.

The Lavender from your garden was sweet and refreshing, even Gasper came double quick time to the wires of his cage to smell it Many thanks for the little pot of dear wild strawberries; they taste and look so nice. We each get a little every morning as a *buxis* (present) from Home which helps us on much in the labours of the day I devoured "The Helress" which dear Anne sent me, in one night. . . . I think in general people in India don't seem to like it or speak well of it, but then often when they go home they are discontented and long to be back in India. I have moralized on the subject, and my idea of it is this, when far from home you only see it in the brightest sunshine, you remember those you love in their best looks and most endearing manners; you think of the happy days of thoughtless childhood, and all the more matured and sweet intercourse of kindred spirits. When people return home they find many changes, the friends left to them are older and often engrossed in their own cares and concerns, they feel themselves also older and changed, after having been as mariners tossed about the ocean of this changing world.

5th May.

Oh! It is so very hot,† sitting quietly in a room here with the punkah going is a great deal warmer than riding at full gallop from Annan at noon in the hottest day of

* William S.; the Mount Annan coachman.

† *Solvery hot*; if the writer found Jessore in May so very hot, one wonders what she would have thought of Delhi and Agra. Ice, of course, was not obtainable in mofussil stations eighty years ago; but otherwise the conditions of life were much as they are now, except that life was less strenuous, work less pressing, and the rupee worth more. In a former letter the writer speaks of *pankhas* and *tatties* as necessities; though one would think that a *khuskhus tatti* could never have been of much use in the damp heat of Jessore.

summer. Will you ask David our ci-devant footman if he could stuff birds for us, if we got them skinned and sent home, for some of the birds here have such splendid plumage that we could easily send home a lovely collection. At present I have got a beautiful wood-pecker with a red top and ultramarine cheeks; it is even here a very uncommon bird. It is a sort of philosopher, for it immediately resigned its mind to living in a cage, but I fear it will not live long, as it feeds on the eggs of insects and we cannot get them for it. Here the earth, the air, and the water, are all alive. Every tank or pond and every dubb by the roadside is filled with fish: the ditches that have been quite dry one day, will, owing to the heavy rain, be filled the next, and the rain overflows the fields and roads so much that the fish swim out of the tanks and go to the dubs: the other evening they were catching them in great quantities in the garden here. The air is never still, a constant humming of insects and all sorts of winged creatures. I often think we must breathe them into us. The earth is full of vermin, the very flowers are full of white, red or black ants, the lizards creep about the walls, and all sorts of cockroaches and horrid creatures are in abundance. One's legs, arms, and neck, are all bitten. I think no one can have a proper idea of the plagues of Egypt till they have come here. When I take out my drawing I find little wretches not the size of a comma running over it, and when I open my desk or my book, ditto. I often think, dear Nora, what horrors you would be in. Willie is studying hard and will I trust soon pass in Hindi. I am anxious he should get out of College and be appointed John's assistant . . . During the time Willie takes a rest from his studies I read aloud with him the Book upon the Peninsular War which Mama sent him; after that is done I shall read with him some book upon India. Pray tell dear Anne that I have begun a French letter to her.

Willie has gone to-day to the Cutchery to try and pass his Hindi examination. He is to be locked into a room by himself without any dictionary or books, nothing but the Papers he has to translate; the reason he is locked in, is, in case the Moonshee or anyone else should come and assist him. He went up at nine and I suppose will be back about four. I trust he will pass. We shall hear next week, and if he passes I shall lose no time in writing to inform Papa and Mama.

And now for a commission again. Will you, dearest, get in Powders the following oil paints: Flake white, Indian red, Prussian blue, yellow ochre, and black? I cannot find my little book on Oil Painting; would you send to Thurnams for one and then you will see a list both for Portrait Painting and Landscape Painting. I forgot to mention vermilion and lake, Burnt Sienna and Antwerp blue. I think those are all that are required for both kinds of painting, also some varnish and Poppy oil. Anne will have an idea of the quantities that should be sent, for here we can get none.

(XV.) 23rd May 1830. *Jessore. To her Sister Anne.*

Our Church plan comes on well, certain it is that if in prayer we strive to do what is right God will bless and prosper our endeavours, for now everyone regularly comes that lives at the Station, and all Stray Birds and Indigo Planters arriving on business come to Church, and now after John has finished reading prayers M. reads a sermon. My School is coming on nicely. I have got two more widows; they are knitting the stockings very well. Did I tell you about our neighbours the Cs.* They are two very gentlemanly

* *The Cs.*; evidently two young Civilians. The *East India Register* of 1830 shows two pairs of young Civilians whose names begin with C.; John Robert Carruthers and Mathew W. Carruthers, both of whom entered in 1828; and Robert H. S. Campbell, entered 1828, and James Gordon Campbell, entered 1829.

youths, quite English, first educated at Eton and then sent to Hertford College. Their Father lives in London and they are very gay people in the way of dinners and balls; their father has lately gone to one of those pretty houses in the Regent's Park. The eldest of the brothers is about twenty, with a very large nose and fair complexion; he is an idler by profession, and has in practice never begun his studies, though he has been above a year in this country; he sets up for a great Sportsman, a Charioteer, and a Jockey; also fond of balls, etc. However with all that he is a very good natured, obliging young man, and when I have any idle person either of man or womankind on my hands, nothing delights my friend more than sending for him to take care of them and amuse them, so you see he is useful to me if not to "John Company." The second is a remarkably fine lad and somehow puts me in mind of dear Frank. He is a year younger than his brother and has much more stamina and character; he is determined to study hard and not become idle and expensive by his brother's precept or example. Though I have nothing to tell you I could write to you all day.

28th May.

A few days since I received a letter per *Moirá*, dated 2nd November. I can think of nothing new to say, unless I descant like a florist on the subject of foreign plants and flowers. Do you remember the Chumpa mentioned by Moore in *Lalla Rook*? It is a lovely flower and grows upon a tree, but I admire nothing so much as the Lotus, whose praises have also been sung in Poets' Lays. It is so splendid and at the same time so delicate. We have a Sweet Acacia tree in front of the house, and also an Indian Rubber, and many spice trees. We have a little plantation of coffee, and if it ripens this year I intend to send you a little home, that you may get a cup of coffee out of our garden. This is the 30th. We are all dying of heat to get home and be with you all is the *summum bonum* of our wishes. The 1st of June is a great day among the Hindus. It is a day on which if they bathe in the sacred stream of the Ganges they get free from all their sins. Within this last day or two about a hundred thousand Hindus have passed this place on their way to the Ganges which is 60 miles from this, many of them have come two or three hundred miles: the roads are crowded with men, women, and children, flocking to the Ganges. Indeed last night when taking our drive the road was so crowded for miles it reminded me of driving through a fair or through a town during an Election. Each one was carrying their little load of provisions, and many of them carrying their children. Many were miserable old cripples that one could scarcely fancy being able to walk one mile. When worn out they give each other a hand, and when wearied at night they bivouack under trees on the road side, families and villagers seem to bivouack in a little knot together during the night. It is a most curious and interesting sight. It seemed to bring before me the ancient Jews flocking to Jerusalem for the Feast of Passover from all quarters and distances with their families, and I could fancy Mary and Joseph losing our Saviour in the crowd and enquiring first among their kinsmen and friends for him, and then looking in every place. The poor cripples put me in mind of the Pool of Bethesda. Do you remember the expression "gird up their loins." All the native men wear a cumerband, a piece of cloth tied tight round them; when they rest they loose it, and when they begin their work or their march they tie it tightly round them. Anne, you are so fond of Jerusalem that I wished last night you could have seen the people. Do you remember the Scapegoat in the Bible that was sent away with the sins of the Children of Israel on it? Here when a particular Hindu dies, there is a Bull let loose, and it is free to rove about where it pleases and eat of anyone's property it likes, for it is reckoned sacred and no one would hurt it and it stamps about with all the said Hindu's sins upon its back. There are

also great herds of swine in this country with lads tending them, which makes one think of the Prodigal Son.

Tuesday next is also a great day with the Mussalmen, for it is the anniversary of the sacrifice of Isaac and they keep it holy. I am uncharitable enough to surmise that the Hindu women like the 1st of June well, for besides getting free of their sins in the Ganges they get a grand tramp about the country and see the world, for it is only on such great religious occasions the poor women are allowed to come out of their houses, save to the tank to get water. Do you weary of all this or do you like it? Oh! I must tell you that a poor old woman, quite a cripple, who goes about here, calls me "her mother" because I give her rice for her dinner. Pray what do you think of my daughter?

(XIV.) 6th June. *Jessore. To her Father and Mother.*

. . . . Lord and Lady Dalhousie go up-country this month and the Bishop accompanies them as far as Benares. He is a very worthy man. We hear he is to set agoing an Infant School in Calcutta.

17th June 1830. *Jessore.*

Dear Mama if anyone going out to India should ask your advice about wearing apparel, pray advise them to bring out white dresses, for in the hot weather nothing looks well but white, and coloured things will not keep during the rains, and one bonnet is enough for anyone. For my own part I never wear a bonnet. This writing paper is very bad, but no paper will keep during the rains and all our drawing paper is the same blotting stuff, though I kept it in flannel and tin.

19th June 1830. *Jessore.*

The new Doctor* at the Station has arrived; he is a tall, thin, gentlemanly looking man, with a yellow sickly face. His wife is in England complaining of heat in September! Upon my word it is ridiculous to hear of people complaining of England, and especially of the heat, after leaving this fiery furnace. Dr. F. has been at the Cape, so that will be a new subject of conversation, and I expect to pick up much intelligence concerning the customs of that place, for like all doctors he seems to think that talking is part of his profession. It is singular how invariably that is their failing, always excepting Dr. H.† of silent memory. To-morrow is a great day with the Hindus. They drag the car in honour of Juggernaut. They have been busy painting and repairing their gods and goddesses for the occasion. It is really wonderful that people can worship what they make and paint themselves. I wish we were back in a good Christian country where one's hopes and feelings and sentiments are the same with those around.

The natives are most determined talkers; they talk all day and night. The doctors are a joke to them: when they are angry with each other they scold from morning till

* *Dr. F., the new doctor*; Robert Bransby Francis, born 30th July 1798, Assistant Surgeon 15th April 1821, died at Jessore 6th October 1833. Dr. Francis was first posted to Jessore in 1822 or 1823. Apparently he had been on leave to the Cape, from the context. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of 20th July 1829, Assistant Surgeon C. W. Fuller is appointed to officiate as Civil Assistant Surgeon of Jessore, *vice* Francis, on leave. Charles Wray Fuller, born 16th October 1805, Assistant Surgeon, 12th September 1828; Surgeon 7th July 1845, retired 2nd March 1851. He was the Doctor of Jessore when the Pringles joined there.

† *Dr., H. of silent memory*; I do not know to whom this refers.

night, and then begin again next day and next day, for they wish each to have the last word. I think the story of "Clippit yet" * might be translated with great effect.

22nd June.

We saw the Rut† to-day in honour of Juggernaut. Crowds of people attended and one of the bearers cried out in an extasy "that's my God"; it is really melancholy. The temple thing they draw is filled with wooden gods, some of them dressed, and the two principal ones have ropes which the priests pull and make their arms move. They have also wooden geese and horses and all sorts of things, and old knaves of priests busy fanning the gods to keep them cool.

(XVII.) 18th June 1830. *Jessore. To her Sister Nora.*

I was the only one who could drink a bumper to your health, for Willie has been undergoing a complete Sangrading. John was also a disciple of the far-famed Sangrado‡ and would only sip your health in a thimblefull of sherry, while Willie gulped it in some chicken broth, but I nobly determined if I should never drink again I would do so on dearest Nora's birthday. John goes to Calcutta next week Janet is well pleased to hear that Willie remains with us here, for she did not at all like the thoughts of being left with only Blackies. Gasper is a great deal with Janet, for she is very fond of him, and she has such a solitary life that I am happy in any way to make it better.

25th June.

Gasper begs leave to inform the untravelled birds at home that he eats and likes all Indian fruits but especially dates which my Scholars bring him. They think him a beautiful bird. I have some painted figures on talc to send you and Anne as a *gage d'amour*. Now dear Nora this is the 26th, but I have not got one new idea so I cannot be entertaining, and all I know is that Janet says we shall get letters from home to-night, for she dreamt she saw a gray horse, and last time she did so she thought letters would come and they did so. I trust she will prove a true dreamer of dreams this time.

One of the black men has asked Janet to teach him to knit as he is very fond of working. He is one of the silver stick men§ and has attached himself to me and amuses himself sorting my painting things for me. He sometimes takes it on himself to wash them untold, and one day I was horror struck to see them all washed out after I had

* "*Clippit yet.*" This is a well-known Scottish proverb. It is said of, or to, a person who, worsted in argument, refuses to admit his defeat. The story is as follows:—A man and his wife quarrelled as to how a piece of cloth had been divided, he saying it was "*cuttit*," with a knife; she maintaining that it had been "*clippit*," with a pair of scissors. After shouting "*cuttit*" and "*clippit*" at each other for some time, the man resorted to force, and laid his wife on her back in a stream which ran past the house. Holding her down, he asked "Is it *clippit yet*?" To which she answered "*clippit yet.*" Then he pushed her down under water. She put one hand above water, and moved the forefinger and middle finger like the blades of a pair of scissors in use.

† *The Rut*; the *Rath Jatra*, or journey of the car. An image of the Deity, Vishnu, is dragged on a car from the temple to another place at some distance which is supposed to be the country house of the god. It remains there eight days, and on the eighth day is hauled back to its usual abode, this being called the *Ulla Jatra*, or return journey. This festival is celebrated in almost every Hindu village in Bengal; but the chief place of celebration is Puri (Jagannath), whence the well-known stories of the "Car of Juggernaut."

‡ *Sangrado*; a quack physician, mentioned in Gil Blas, whose only prescriptions were hot water and bleeding. The character is supposed to be a satire on Helvetius.

§ *Silver stick men*; Chuprasis.

bothered myself setting some good shades : his excuse was that he thought the colours were confused and all mixed together ! This is the 27th. The gray horse did bring letters. One from Frank to me and also one from John. He had a sad weary going to Calcutta ; it poured of rain like water spouts, not like the dear gentle rain at home, and till you have really tried a dāk journey you cannot understand its horrors. John writes that at present there is not much chance of our leaving Jessore, as there is among the late arrivals a much older Civilian than him, and he must be served first. We must in this world learn to bend our minds to circumstances and be contented and moderate.

This is the 28th. The M.'s are coming here. She is the daughter of Colonel M., and a very pretty girl. He is, I believe, a fine young man and a genius on the violin. John writes me that all the people in Calcutta are looking yellow and worn out Adieu. I am dying of heat and Willie of prickly heat.

(XVIII.) *To her sister Anne. 9th July 1830.*

Make my salaams to Auntie for the bun which arrived in good case, and another to the dear Mother for the cheeses, which seemed inclined to walk into the diningroom themselves. Next time the Mother feels graciously inclined, prithee, entreat her to pack them up in a tin box. The oatmeal is to be turned with all speed into porridge which we are all longing to taste. Thank Mrs. M. for her kind letter and tell her that my love was really brought to the test, for though it almost walked to me and smelt so strongly of cheese yet I both read it and enjoyed it. Also a salaam to the dear Father for the newspapers John is indeed a great blessing to me. I look on your minlatures with pleasure, but I remember best Auntie going out of our coach into her own carriage at Lockerbie ; Mama in the yellow room, Papa, the wind blowing his hair at the front door, both on the day I was married and the sad day of farewells, Robert, as we were on our way to church—you two in that weary boat, and then through the Spyglass I see you yet at that window with your shawls on and Frank again in the little boat. Dear Anne did you sing "The snoring breeze and white waves dashing high" as you crossed to Ireland this time ? No, I hear you whisper from afar, you could not, for your companions were all dispersed.

(XIX.) *To her Mother, Jessore. 16th July 1830.*

Dearest Mama, I often wish that I could borrow wings of a dove and fly to you all even for one short week. I met with some such pretty verses the other day by Mrs. Hemans ; these four lines often haunt me.

I sit by the hearth of my early days,
All the home faces are met by the blaze,
And the eyes of the mother shine soft but say
"It is but a dream and will melt away."

(XX.) *To her sisters on hearing of her brother's death,* 19th July 1830.*

Little did I think that I looked my last look upon him from that weary cabin window, for my heart's darling left me with a bright smile and said "Dear Tina, don't cry we shall soon meet again." I watched him to the last moment and then he passed from my longing eyes forever in this world, but I trust and pray we shall meet him again in Heaven and that there we shall know each other Many things here are connected with Frank. The horse I ride is called Frank and the one John bought the other day was to be called the Admiral

* *Her brother's death* ; Francis Dirom, died 13th March 1830.

after Jimmy,* but I won't have it so now, for those little marks of affection are all very well when all goes well, but when things take a sad turn they only add pangs to grief Janet is very sorry for our affliction, she said "Oh! we all feared that Mr. Frank was too good to be long in this world." Poor old nurse! Do you remember her saying "Frank's the Boy." Friends not money make happiness, and if we could leave India without being a burden on those we love we should leave it now and forever, but wishing won't do, our duty is submission and resignation and oh, it is difficult, but if we pray we shall get assistance from above.

(XXI.) *To her sister Anne, Jessore, 5th August 1830.*

Your Dublin history seemed a dream, for we got it after we heard of your melancholy return home. I can so well fancy you there. The world in Calcutta struck me as something like the world in Dublin, though the Governor and his Lady are not allowed to fancy themselves Vice-Regals. Lady Hastings tried it when she was in India and requested that feathers and trains should be adopted they were so at one time, but it would not carry on. Yesterday when Janet was doing my hair she exclaimed "Oh! Mrs. Pringle those were happy days in Siberia† when I used to fly from one head to the other, and Lady Maxwell‡ in the room talking so lively, and Rose and then the three young gentlemen making such a noise with Flip barricading the Passage." I saw Mrs. M. § one forenoon. She is a pretty and very lady-like girl, very pale and thin with large grey eyes and braided hair. When we are out of an evening we often meet them; she, one evening in a silk bonnet, another a blue, and a third, a pink. She is new from Calcutta. Our acquaintances here are very nice, kind people, but one has no early ties of association with them and no chance of being even long together.

(XXII.) *To her Father, Jessore, || 14th August 1830.*

You used often to call me The Judge, and I really begin to believe that I have some natural genius in that line, for since John has commenced the work of Circuit Judge, I have felt much interest in all that is going on, and in the evenings I read over all that has passed in the Court during the day and pass my judgment on the cases—as yet, John and I have always been of the same mind—he is very much occupied all day at present—it is after Tea that I pass my sentence.

(XXIII.) *To her sister Nora, Jessore, 29th August 1830.*

I will tell you a curious circumstance which has struck me a good deal. You know I called my riding horse Frank after my dear Boy. I used to talk away to him when I was riding and I liked him because he was called Frank. After we heard the sad news from Home I did not know what to do with that horse. I could not bear to sell Frank

* *Jimmy*; James Dirom, at the time this letter was written a midshipman. He rose to the rank of admiral more than forty years after the death of his sister, the writer.

† *Siberia*; a room in the top story of Mount Annan.

‡ *Lady Maxwell*; the writer's aunt, Hannah Leonora Pasley, sister of General Dirom's wife, and wife of Sir William Maxwell, of Calderwood. The baronetcy is now extinct.

§ *Mrs. M.*; I do not know to whom this refers. Mr. Maxwell, the Collector of Jessore, was unmarried. Richard Herbert Mytton, who entered the B.C.S. in 1826, was posted to Jessore, as "Register" (Registrar) of the Zilla Court, in 1830. Mr. D. Macfarlan was also posted to Jessore in 1830 as Collector, *vice* Maxwell, transferred.

|| *Letter of 14th August 1830 to her Father.* Before this letter reached its destination, both the writer, and the father to whom it was addressed, were dead.

I did not like the thought of riding him, yet I could not bear to change his name, and I did not like to hear the black grooms carelessly talking of Frank. However it was determined just to let him stand in the stable till the cold weather, and then I was to make up my mind about it, but he was taken suddenly very ill one day and is now lying in his stall dying. Before that he was in perfect health and a strong active horse of seven years old. I feel much struck with the circumstance. I intend never again to call horses after people. This station is reckoned very unhealthy for horses.

(XXIV.) *To her sisters, Jessore, 12th September 1830.*

I was becoming much stronger and better when we received the sad intelligence of dearest Frank's death, which seemed quite to overturn mind, body, and all. We are going to Calcutta to consult Doctor Nicholson* who is the first medical man in Bengal.

(XXV.) *To her Mother, Sunderbunds, on board a Pinnace. 20th September 1830.*

To-morrow we expect to arrive near Calcutta and think of taking lodgings for a short time in Ballard's Buildings. We wish to consult Dr. Nicholson about my health. He has been practising for above twenty years in India, and is reckoned the nonpareil and factotum of half the fair in Calcutta, so I think of asking his sage advice, for I am almost wearied of never feeling well. What can I say about what I have seen. We have sailed through numberless large rivers. Here we are lying at anchor in a large river surrounded by a Forest 300 miles every way, in short in the middle of the great Sunderbund Forest. It is full of tigers, but they are too modest or too wild to be often seen, and I have seen none. However I have been regaled with the sight of monkeys chattering and playing among the trees, they are such amusing creatures and so like natives, indeed the Hindus say that they can speak, as well as do everything else, but they are wise enough to know that if they spoke they would soon be made to work. Shall I go on and write of turtles, porpoises and alligators? No, for I am wearied of them and so I daresay are you. In short those wonders cease to be wonders when often seen, for the parrots fly wild and I cannot be troubled to look at them. Gasper is in the boat and quite well and happy, though he is much afraid of black people, as the beasts and birds here are of white people.

(XXVI.) *To her Mother, Calcutta, 1st October 1830.*

We shall likely be here till the end of November as Dr. Nicholson does not approve of my travelling to Jessore either by land or water till the cold weather is fairly set in, as the damp is excessive at the breaking up of the rains and the salt marshes make it particularly damp there. My cold is much better under Dr. Nicholson's care, indeed I feel pain and trouble from nothing but the good man's care, as he amuses himself and torments me with keeping the plaster on my chest open. He says "Well Ma'am is it very painful and running well?" and I say "Oh, yes, it is very painful." "So much the better" says he. "Keep it open. Good morning."

(XXVII.) *To her sister Nora, Calcutta, 13th October 1830.*

To-morrow we move into our own house in Park Street.

* *Dr. Nicholson*; Simon Nicolson, the most popular and successful medical man of his time in Calcutta. He was born on 5th July 1779, entered the service as Assistant Surgeon on 2nd February 1807, became Surgeon on 8th January 1820, spent his whole service in the General Hospital in Calcutta, retired on 1st August 1855, and died in Calcutta, just one week later, on 8th August 1855.

(XXVIII.) *To her Mother, Calcutta, 20th October 1830.*

John went to ask Dr. Nicholson the real truth about my cough, and I sent him word that I really knew as well as any one about a consumptive cough and I could not be easily deceived.

(XXIX.) *To her aunt Lady Maxwell, Calcutta, October 1830.*

It is an unspeakable blessing John's going home with me. Indeed I don't think I could have done it otherwise, for even the chance of dying alone in a nasty ship is an awful thought.

(XXX.) *To her sisters, Calcutta, 23rd October 1830.*

I think all India is like the description Mama used to give us of the Black Hole in Calcutta.

(XXXI.) *To Mrs. Grahame (formerly Miss Anne Mair)* 1st November 1830.*

We have taken our passages in the "Enchantress" and God willing will be in England in the middle of March. As we reach England if the spring appears cold we are to remain in Devonshire till May or June.

(XXXII.) *Letter from John Pringle to her sisters telling them of his wife's death, 13th November 1830.*

Frank's death was a severe blow to her. She never recovered nor rallied, there was something stunning in the effect.

The last desperate chance of a voyage to Europe was prescribed, which showed at once the doctor's opinion of the disease. I can never forget when I told her of it after seeing the doctor; she said: "Well dearest we will do what we can. Events are in the hands of God but I dread the sea voyage and feel as if I could never see home again, but get from Dr. Nicholson his real candid opinion. It is cruel to conceal from a sinking person the knowledge of her real state; it cannot chase away death, and his information will never hurry it for I will do all he tells me."

At the end of the correspondence are two notes, added at Mount Annan by one of the writer's sisters. The first is as follows:—

"On the 2nd March 1831 we received a letter informing us that our much-loved Christina was ordered home from India in bad health. My aunt † and I hurried up to London in hopes of meeting her and her husband, but, alas! on Sunday, 27th March, the sad tidings of her death reached us." Leonora Dirom, 8th April 1831. The second note is undated—"John Pringle came to Mount Annan on Monday, 24th December 1838. He left us in good health on the following Friday, and returned to Castle Dykes. On Saturday, 29th, he was seized with apoplexy, and on Thursday morning, 3rd January, he entered into his eternal rest."

D. G. CRAWFORD, M.B.,

Lt.-Col., I. M. S.

* *Letter of 1st November 1830, to Mrs. Grahame; formerly Miss Anne Mair, the same correspondent to whom letter No. VII. of 7th January was addressed, married Colonel Grahame of Mossknowe, Dumfriesshire, formerly of the 17th Lancers, on 22nd February 1830. She died on 8th January 1887.*

† *My aunt; Lady Maxwell, before referred to.*

Marriages in Bengal, 1759-1779.

(CHURCH OF ENGLAND.)

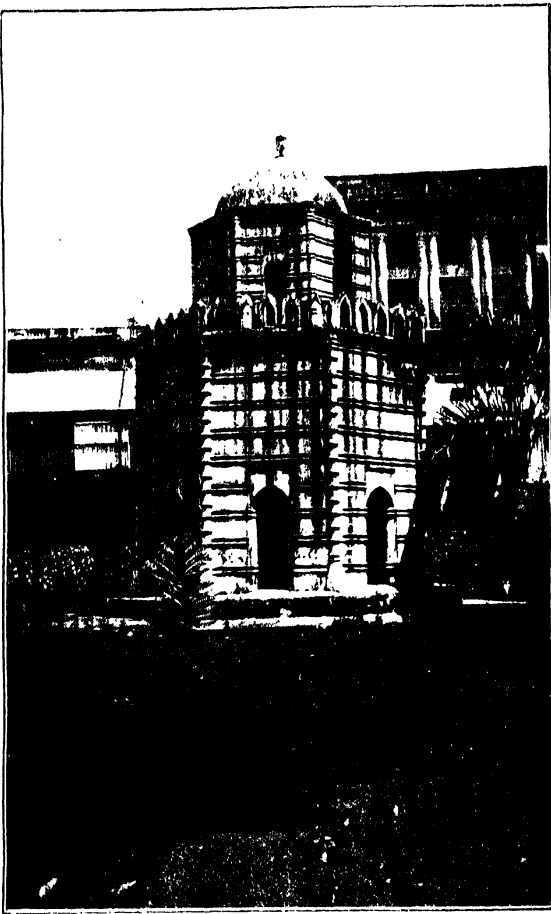
1759. January 23.—Joseph Deest and Domingas de Rosaria.
 1759. January 25.—Mr. Samuel Waller¹ and Mary Chilly.
 1759. February 4.—Nicholas Walshbroom and Elizabeth Dobinson.
 1759. February 11.—Captain Alexander Champion² and Frances Nynd.
 1759. February 25.—Charles Playdell,³ Esq., and Elizabeth Holwell.⁴
 1759. March 8.—Mr. John May⁵ and Elizabeth Salabert.
 1759. March 31.—William Rider⁶ and Anna Holwell.⁷
 1759. June 20.—William Wiffen and Mary Ransom.
 1759. September 9.—John Ranold, Soldier, and Betty de Rosaria.
 1759. September 15.—William Perkes⁸ and Judith Lucas.
 1759. December 9.—Robert Hobbs, Soldier, and Johanna de Rosaria.

¹ Samuel Waller. Arrived 16th July, 1749, a Factor and Assistant Naval Storekeeper, January 1757.

² Alexander Champion. "Second-in-Command to Sir Hector Munro, 1764, when opposed to Shuja-ud-daula : in the battle of Buxar, October 23, 1764 : Colonel ; succeeded Sir Robert Barker as Commander-in-Chief of Bengal, June 18, 1774 to October 29, 1774 : commanded a Brigade in 1774, asked for by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh against the Rohillas : defeated them near Tassunih, April 23, 1774 : retired 1774 : resided at Bath many years." (Buckland). On the Public Proceedings 1341 of 1763 there is a letter from "Mrs. Fanny Champion" dated November 10th. Mrs. Champion was evidently a very close friend and probably a relative of Richard Barwell.

³ Charles Playdell. (The name sometimes appears as Pleydell). Charles Stafford Playdell had a long Indian career. He arrived in India on November 25, 1744. He was second at the Factory of Jagdeia at the time of Suraj-ud-daula's descent on Calcutta, and with the other refugees from Jagdeia reached Fulta in July 1756. Resident at Ballasore 1759. Land Custom Master 1759. Chief at Dacca 1754. In 1761 the Court of Directors ordered Pleydell to be dismissed together with others who had signed their names to Lord Clive's famous protest against the treatment of Bengal Servants by the Board. *Vide* Busteed : *Echoes*, p. 49. This order seems not to have been executed. According to Bolts' *Considerations*, Playdell received on the accession of Nazim-u-Daulat to the musnud of Murshidabad in 1763 a "Refreshment" of Rs. 11,666 $\frac{2}{3}$. In 1765 he is again Export Ware-housekeeper at Calcutta. On January 25, 1768, he applies for a passage home on the *Earl of Elgin*, but apparently without success. From October 1764 to July 1765 he held the office of Collector of Calcutta. I have not as yet been able to discover when Playdell went home, but Dr. Busteed (*Echoes*, p. 49) writes Playdell returned in September 1771 to collect what was due to him, and to try for employment in the gift of local Patronage. He came out with his second wife. He became Superintendent of Police, but in 1775 he was dismissed from his office by the Francis faction, but soon after restored by mandate from home. (Busteed, p. 42). Writing to his wife on September 1772, Dr. Tyso Saul Hancock writes : "I will answer your queries relating to Mr. Pleydell (*sic*). I say he is either a fool or in desperate circumstances. If his abilities can support him, who need to despair? Neither his abilities, nor abilities much greater than his, can support him on the footing he has come hither. Compassion for a man who was once by succession entitled to the Chair, and who, like a fool, declared himself incapable, may possibly induce the great to assist him, or a lively, handsome young wife may promote his success ; but what an infamous wretch must be he who can think of the latter without horror." (Busteed *Op Cit*, pp. 130-1.) He was

ST. JOHN'S CHURCHYARD, CALCUTTA.



THE CHARNOCK MAUSOLEUM.

[From a Photograph by "The Empress," Calcutta.]

1760. March 18.—Anthony Castell, Esq., and Mrs. Mary Smith.⁹

1760. March 23.—Adrian Decker,¹⁰ Esq., and Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton.

1760. April 5.—Mr. Dudley Davis,¹¹ Attorney, and Mrs. Eleanor
Briswell.

1760. June 14.—Mr. Peter Gallopin¹² and Mrs. Philadelphia Tinley;
widow.

1760. July 15.—Martin York, Esq., and Mrs. Rider, widow.⁷

1760. September 2.—Mr. Downes¹³ and Mrs. Clayton,¹⁴ widow.

Deputy District Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal in 1775, and was elected Provincial Grand Master on January 14, 1776. (Firminger: *Early History of Freemasonry in Bengal*, p. 28). The inscription on his grave in the South Park Street Cemetery is as follows:—

Sacred to the Memory of
CHARLES STAFFORD PLAYDELL, Esq.,
Member of the Board of Trade;
Master in Chancery, and
Superintendent of Police in Calcutta,
Who departed this life on the 27th of May, 1779;
Sincerely and universally regretted
by Europeans and Natives.

⁷ Elizabeth Holwell, a daughter of the famous J. Z. Holwell, the hero of the Black Hole.

⁸ John May. Registrar of the Mayor's Court in 1769. Mr. Justice LeMaistre's house is said by Hyde to have been situated in May's Gardens.

⁹ A William Rider occurs on the list of Gentlemen in the Company's Service who escaped from the disaster of 1756 in the ship to Fulta. Sheriff of Calcutta, 1757. He succumbed to wounds received in the decisive battle against the Dutch at Biddera where he had led an independent company of gentlemen. In the burial registers at St. John's the name William Rider, Esq., appears on November 28. William and Anne Rider were the grandparents of Lieutenant-General Sir R. J. Holwell Birch, Military Secretary during the Mutiny, his father, R. C. Birch of the Civil Service, having married Miss Frances Jane Rider, February 22, 1789.

¹⁰ Anna Holwell. It will be seen from the next year's list that on the death of W. Rider, she married Martin York, who was very possibly the young Ensign who so distinguished himself for gallantry at Chitpur during the siege of Calcutta. See also Broome: *Bengal Army*, pp. 319 and 330.

¹¹ William Perkes. On the India Office Consultations, 1762, p. 1172, are copies of articles under which Mr. William Perkes is allowed to keep a house of entertainment.

¹² Mrs. Mary Smith. Possibly the widow of Captain John Smith, pilot, and a refugee at Fulta in 1751. The Burial Register under March 13, 1761, records the funeral of "Mrs. Mary Castell, Inhabitant."

¹³ Adrian Decker. Is he to be identified with Lt.-Fireworker Adrian Decker who perished in the tragedy at Patna in 1763?

¹⁴ Dudley Davis. Appointed Attorney for the Company in the Mayor's Court 20th December 1759. C. 1760 8th January, p. 18. Copy of petition of Mr. Dudley Davis, Attorney-at-Law, requesting permission to go to Europe.

¹⁵ Mr. Peter Gallopin (or Gollopine). See Original Consultations of Government 1766. O. C. 21. Op. No. 7. Buried August 1, 1766.

¹⁶ Mr. Downes. I trace two persons—(1) A. P. Downes, who resigned the office of Store-Keeper of the New Works in Feb. 1765, and requested a passage home the *Admiral Stevens*. 15th July 1765. (2) J. Downes.

¹⁷ Mrs. Clayton. Possibly the widow of Captain David on who perished in the Black Hole. If so, her Christian name was Lucy and she was one of the Fulta refugees.

1761. February 1.—James Harris, Esq., and Mary Bagley.
 1761. February 9.—Captain Norcross Dunstall¹⁵ and Miss Seaton.
 1761. February 20.—Robert Armstrong and Antonia de Rosario.
 1761. April 19.—Captain Christian Fischer¹⁶ and Elizabeth Devril.
 1761. August 3.—Edward Bird, Soldier, and Mary de Sylva.
 1761. September 28.—Jeremiah Bowman, Soldier, and Ann de Rosario.
 1761. November 21.—Mr. Philip Milner Dacres¹⁷ and Miss Martha¹⁸

Howett.

1761. December 13.—Mr. Jeremiah Hifferman and Mary Aston.
 1761. December 23.—Mr. Thomas Tyson and Frances Danker.
 1761. December 23.—Mr. Richard Smith and Elizabeth Danker.
 1761. December 26.—Mr. George Williamson¹⁹ and Miss Eleanor

Howett.

1761. December 27.—Mr. Hugh Grant²⁰ and Mary Carvalho.²¹

¹⁵ Captain Norcross Dunstall. The burial of a Captain *Richard* Dunstall is on the register on July 4th 1761.

¹⁶ Captain Christian Fischer, a Swiss officer, with Clive and Lebeaume, constituted the minority, which before Plassey voted for immediate action. Mr. S. C. Hill writes, "the former appears to have been quite new to the country." *Bengal in 1756-7*, Vol. I. p. CXVIII. He took part in Colonel Forde's expedition to the Northern Circars in 1759, and on the 28th December took Coconada from the French. On 23rd March, 1760, he joined Mir Jaffar's Forces at Burdwan in the movement against Shah Alam. When the army was reorganised in 1765 he commanded the 2nd Battalion of Native Infantry stationed at Monghyr. On the O.C. of 12th December 1770 a letter from him requesting a passage to Europe on the *Houghton* for his daughter and nurse.

¹⁷ Philip Milner Dacres. Arrived in India most probably in 1756 and was posted Assistant Import Warehouse. Dacres is commemorated in modern Calcutta by Dacres Lane, where he had property, which he devised to a native inhabitant for the term of five hundred years, subject to the yearly payment upon the feast day of St. Michael of one pepper-corn, if demanded. His name occurs on a petition for establishing a Calcutta militia or "Patriot Band," dated 15th December 1757. See Long's *Selections from the Unpublished Records*, p. 107. Of Council at Patna 1765. Assisted at Revenue Settlement of Burdwan, 1765-7. Collector of Calcutta, February—May 1773, and December 1773 to December 1774. President of Board of Trade 1777. Retired 1784. See *History of Freemasonry in Bengal*. Installed Provincial Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal, November 4th, 1779.

¹⁸ Miss Martha Howett. Her burial appears on the Register, January 8th, 1763.

¹⁹ George Williamson. Must have left England in 1757. An interesting letter describing Calcutta after the siege will be found in Hill's *Bengal in 1756-7*, Vol. III, pp. 85-88. He was in the Assistant Secretary's office in January 1751. Petitioned for the "Patriot Band." Court of Cutcheri and Naval Store-keeper 1763. In later years the Company's "Vendu Master" or Auctioneer. His business office was the Old Play House in Lal Bazar. Much information concerning him will be found in the *History of Freemasonry in Bengal*.

²⁰ Hugh Grant. Possibly the Lieutenant Hugh Grant, who raised the *Grant-ki-pultan*, the 4th Native Battalion, in September 1750.

²¹ Mary Carvalho. The burial of a Mrs. Mary Grant is registered on October 12th, 1769. Two Misses Carvalho had been among the refugees at Fulta.

1762. February 10.—The Rev. Mr. John Zachariah Kiernander and Ann Woolley,²² widow.

1762. April 3.—Mr. Robert Holford, Commander of Fort St. George, and Ann Russel, spinster.

1762. June 24.—Mr. John Taylor,²³ batchelor, and Mrs. Dorothy Northall, widow.

1762. August 8.—Mr. John Graham²⁴ and Miss Mary Shewin.

1762. November 22.—Mr. Ralph Leycester²⁵ and Miss Charlotte Lushington.

1763. January 22.—Captain Francis Rowland²⁶ of His Majesty's 84th Regiment and Mary Bull,²⁷ widow.

1763. March 27.—Hugh Watts,²⁸ Esq., of Council, and Miss Elizabeth Fenwick.

1763. April 3.—John Randall, batchelor, and Leonora Bretton, widow.

1763. April 6.—Peter Amyatt,²⁹ Esq., of Council, and Miss Maria Woollaston.

²² There were several young officers of this name in the Bengal Army. One of them, Lieut. William Woolley, is reported to have fallen at the storm of Praugpore, January 4, 1810.

²³ Mr. John Taylor. Probably a Surgeon. The Burial of a Mr. John Taylor is on the Register, March 15, 1767.

²⁴ John Graham, Secretary. Assisted at the Revenue settlement of Burdwan 1763. Resident at Midnapore 1756-7. Transferred to Burdwan. Superintendent of the Khalsa, August, 1773. Chief at Patna, 29th January 1772. Mixed up in the trial of Fowke and Nanda Kumar for conspiracy.

²⁵ Ralph Leycester. Arrived 7th June 1754. Assistant in the Import Warehouse in 1756. Escaped to the ships at the siege of Calcutta. Went home 1759. Charged by Lord Clive with having abandoned Dacca to the enemy. In 1766 one of the Company's servants who quarrelled with Lord Clive, and resigned.

²⁶ Captain Francis Rowland. Buried August 7, 1763.

²⁷ Mary Bull. A letter from this lady will be found on Public Proceedings, pp. 1341 of 1763.

²⁸ Hugh Watts. A son of William Watts, famous for the negociations with Mir Jaffar prior to Plassey, and his wife the "Begum" Watts (afterwards Mrs. Frances Johnson). Hugh's eldest sister married the Rt. Hon. Chas. Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool. Hugh was a writer at Cassimbazar when that factory was captured in 1756. In August 1757 appointed member of Council at Cassimbazar with Hastings, supported Vansittart against the majority on the Council, February, 1763; 1763, Agent at Rangpore. Collector of Calcutta, February, 1766 to February 1767. His dismissal ordered by the Company. See Long's *Selections*, p. 474. On the Burial Register, on January 19, 1767, occurs "Hugh, son of Hugh Watts of Council."

²⁹ Peter Amyatt (spelt Amyat, Amyati, Amiot, etc.) Arrived 2nd August 1742, when he must have been about 15 years old. At the time of the downfall of Calcutta, he was Chief of the Council at Jagdea; he escaped on board a sloop to Fulta, having rescued about Rs. 60,000 worth of the Company's effects. He formed one of the Council of Fulta, and Holwell on his arrival at that place expressed the opinion that Amyatt had been "the only person invested with any just title to conduct the affairs and concerns of the Company.... until the arrival of the gentlemen of the Board of Calcutta, who lay under no censure or suspicion from the service." This Holwell thought was the consequence of Drake, etc., having abandoned the Fort in the hour of danger. Early in February, 1757,

1763. April 7.—Primrose Galliez,³⁰ Lieutenant in the Company's Troops, and Mary deNoailles, widow.

1763. April 12.—John Harris, batchelor, and Sarah Howard, spinster.

1763. June 16.—Mr. Harris and Miss Elizabeth Cass.

1763. June 26.—The Rev. Mr. William Parry³¹ and Miss Elizabeth Quinchant.

1763. July 1.—Benjamin Banks and Grace Burge, spinster.

1763. September 1.—Erasmus Gunderstrape and Elizabeth Burge, spinster.

1763. December 10.—Philip Milner Dacres, Esq., widower, and Rebecca Wilding, spinster.

1764. January 30.—Robert Mitchell, bachelor, and Anustantia (*sic*) Bark, widow.

1764. February 5.—Peter Pegu, Captain of the *British King* East Indiaman, and Catherine Hyatt, spinster.

1764. February 11.—William Bolts,³² Esq., and Anne Aston, spinster.

1764. March 2.—James Amyatt,³³ Esq., and Maria Amyatt, widow.

Amyatt was sent by Clive with letters to the Nawab, then in the neighbourhood of Dum Dum. He was one of the agents for the Military on the capture of Calcutta. In 1760 Amyatt went to Patna as chief. Being next to the Chair in seniority, he took great offence at Vansittart's appointment, and on his return to Calcutta became at least the figure head of the opposition. In March 1763 he was sent with William Hay to negotiate with Mir Kasim at Monghyr. On May 13th an interview took place. On July 3 or 4, Amyatt's boat was stopped near Murshedabad and he was murdered. The name of Mrs. Amyatt appears among those of the women and children on the ships at Fulta. The burial of a William Amyatt is recorded on May 1, 1760. The Amyatt's house is shewn in maps given in Wilson : *Old Fort William*, Vol. II.

³⁰ Primrose Galliez. "Having raised some three or four hundred picked men, he (Lord Clive) furnished them not only with arms but also with dress of European pattern, drilled and disciplined them as regular troops, and appointed a British officer and non-commissioned officers to command and instruct them. This was the earliest Bengal Native Regiment known as the *Lal Paltun* on account of its equipment, but later it went by the name of *Gilis-ki-paltun*, from Captain Primrose Galliez, who obtained command of it in 1763 and held that post for many years : it became the 2nd battalion of the 12th Bengal Native Infantry in 1796." Cardew : *A Sketch of the Services of the Bengal Native Army to the Year 1895*, p. 5. Cadet, November 17, 1758 ; Lieutenant, July 28, 1759 ; Captain, October 11, 1763 ; Major, April 29, 1766 ; Lieutenant-Colonel, April 2, 1768 ; Colonel, January 18, 1774 ; Resigned November 11, 1776.

³¹ The Rev. William Parry and his wife. Ample information will be found in Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 131 *et seq.* Parry, soon after his marriage, joined the forces under Major Adams.

³² William Bolts. See *Dictionary of National Biography*. There is an enormous wealth of unpublished documents relating to this once famous person, but, as the Editor understands that these have been collected with a view to publication, he will not expand the present note.

³³ James Amyatt. In 1759, Captain of the Ship *Fort William*. What relation to Peter is not known, but clearly not a brother as he marries Peter's widow : his name appears as a signatory to a letter addressed to Lord Clive, December 28, 1758, on the subject of the grievances of merchants. Long's *Selections from the Unpublished Records*, pp. 169-173. He acted as executor to Peter Amyatt.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCHYARD, CALCUTTA.



TOMB OF MRS. ELIZABETH REED.

[From a Photograph by "The Empress," Calcutta.]

1764. March 15.—Robert Hunter,³⁴ Esq., Surgeon, and Margaret Roberson, spinster.

1764. April 27.—William Lambert³⁵ and Lady Margaret Hope, widow.³⁶

1764. April 29.—James Simson, Master in the Company's Pilot Service, and Catherine Hardwick, spinster.

1764. August 7.—Captain Robert Linsey³⁷ and Elizabeth Smart, spinster.

1764. October 25.—Captain Thomas Gibson and Martha Swain, widow.

1765. February 22.—William Filewood and Elizabeth Coker, spinster.

1765. April 20.—Mr. Francis Charlton³⁸ and Elizabeth Maitland, widow.

1765. May 8.—Domingo Bowbrigs and Anna De Sylva, spinster.

1765. May 13.—Gilbert Ironside³⁹ and Laetitia Roberts, spinster.

1765. June 25.—John McFarling and Sarah Harris,⁴⁰ widow.

1765. September 1.—Samuel Hampton and Sarah Hick, spinster.

1765. September 9.—John Johnston, Esq.,⁴¹ of Council, and Caroline Kcen, spinster.

³⁴ Robert Hunter, Esq., Surgeon. On February 6, 1770, we find him resigning his post and asking for a passage home on the *Duke of Grafton*. He instead of going home, took up the duties of Contractor to the Army. In April 1771 I find him at Patna. I do not know whether he is to be identified with the Robert Hunter who is to be found later on at Dacca and who in 1776 married Mrs. Catherine Mills. [On September 23, 1769, a Robert Hunter, Surgeon, was buried at Calcutta, this may perhaps be the Robert Hunter whose marriage is recorded here, and in this case this note applies to his son].

³⁵ William Lambert arrived about 1760, Military Paymaster-General (1763-1766). Factor in October 1766. Clerk of the Court of Bequests, January 4th, 1767; on the Murshidabad Council of Revenue, 1771; Chief at Dacca, February 6, 1772 of Council. 1774 Chief of Dinagepore. Died 18th September 1774. Body cremated and the ashes brought for burial to Baraset.

³⁶ Lady Margaret Hope. The widow of Sir William Hope, who perished in the massacre of Patna. Lady Hope had made her escape to the Dutch Factory. Went home in 1768.

³⁷ Captain Robert Linsey perhaps Captain Robert Lindsay of the *Nancy Ketch* (1765. O.C., 25th March, No. 3). Buried October 20, 1770.

³⁸ Francis Charlton, Second at Dacca in 1765. Chief of Chittagong, 1769. Military Paymaster-General and Mint Master till February 23, 1769. March 8 same year applies for passage home on the *Talbot*.

³⁹ Gilbert Ironside. Cadet, 1758. Ensign, December 14, 1758; Lieutenant, September 19, 1759; Captain, October 13, 1763; Town-Major of Calcutta, 1763; Major, May 1, 1766; Lieutenant-Colonel, April 2, 1768; Colonel, September 12, 1774. On the Consulations of December 19, 1768 (No. 5) appears a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Ironside requesting a passage on the *Salisbury* for Mrs. Ironside. A reference to his widow will be found in the *Francis Papers*.

⁴⁰ Sarah Harris. See under 1763.

⁴¹ John Johnston [or Johnstone]. An account of his exceedingly interesting career will be found in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, pp. 392-3. Although a Civilian he served at Plassey and under Forde in the Northern Circars.

1765. November 7.—General John Carnac⁴² and Elizabeth Wooleston, spinster.

1765. November 26.—John Bell⁴³ and Mary Wilinger, widow.

1765. December 26.—Giles Stibbert,⁴⁴ Major in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Sophronia Rebecca Wright.

1766. January 30.—Hugh Baillie, Esq., and Anna Pearce, spinster.

1766. February 6.—Thomas Harden and Margaret Driver, spinster.

1766. February 7.—Francis Sykes,⁴⁵ Esq., of Council, and Catherine Ridley,⁴⁶ spinster.

1766. March 13.—John Green and Eleanor Sneaker,⁴⁷ widow.

⁴² General John Carnac. Mr. Buckland (*Dict. Ind. Biog.*) records: "Entered the E.I. Co.'s service in 1758 as Captain from H.M.'s 39th regiment. In 1760 commanded at Patna, and in 1761 defeated the Delhi Emperor near Bihar, took prisoner M. Law with his men, beat off Shuja-ud-daulah's attack on Patna, April 1764; was Brigadier-General in 1764, and defeated the Mahrattas in the Doab 1765; received the Emperor Shah Alam and the Wazir Shuja-ud-daulah, and closed the war; M.P. for Leominster, 1767; in 1767-9 was a member of Council, Bombay; member of the Superintending Committee on the expedition against Poona 1778; and was dismissed the E.I. Co.'s service for his share in the convention of Wargaum, January 14, 1779; died at Mangalore on a sea voyage, November 29, 1800." After the death of his first wife, he married Eliza Rivett, a famous Court beauty, whose portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds formed the frontispiece to *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, No. 2. Carnac was in Calcutta at the time of Warren Hastings' departure. There is a monument to him in Bombay Cathedral. In view of their close political alliance it is interesting to note that both Amyatt and Carnac married Woolestons or Woolastons.

⁴³ John Bell. On O.C. 12, 1770, a John Bell requests a passage on the *Houghton* to Europe for himself.

⁴⁴ Giles Stibbert. Mr. Buckland records: "Raised a Regiment of Native Infantry at Bankipur, 1761; at the siege of Patna, 1763, and battle of Buxar, October 23, 1764; captured Chunar, 1765; officiating Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army in 1777 and 1783; framed the reform of that Army 1780; Major-General, 1783; Lieutenant-General, 1791; died after several years' residence in England."

⁴⁵ Sykes was a member of the Factory at Cossimbazar in 1756 after about five years of Indian service. In 1760, December 10, sought permission to resign the Service. Returned to India with Lord Clive in 1764. Member of the Select Committee Chief at Cossimbazar. There are some caustic references to him in the Barwell letters. The inscription to his wife is the second oldest in the South Park Street Cemetery:—

In Memory of
MRS. CATHERINE SYKES,
wife of Francis Sykes, Esq.,
who died the 28th of December, 1768,
In the 25th year of her age.
Joined to a life of virtue must
ever make her husband and
her children feel, and her
friends, lament her loss.

It was to Sykes' charge Warren Hastings committed in 1761 his little son, George, the child of the first Mrs. Hastings. Sykes became a baronet in 1781. A number of interesting references to him will be found in Sydney C. Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*. See Caraccioli's *Life of Clive*.

⁴⁶ Catherine Ridley. Died December 28, 1768, and buried in the South Park Street Cemetery.

⁴⁷ Eleanor Sneaker. The burial of "Mr. Francis Sneaker Pilot" is on the Register. November 3, 1763. Long in his *Selections* gives the name as "Snaker."

ST. JOHN'S CHURCHYARD, CALCUTTA.



TOMB OF WM. SPEKE.

[From a Photograph by "The Impress," Calcutta.]

1766. May 20.—Henry Plowman and Mary Ironside,⁴⁸ spinster.
 1766. July 20.—Samuel Barrett and Mary de Rosario.
 1766. September 10.—Joshua Nixon and Margaret Scott, widow.
 1766. September 17.—Captain John Ivey and Elizabeth Porter, widow.
 1766. September 18.—Lieutenant Thomas Boddom and Mary Scott spinster.
 1766. November 15.—Alexander Jephson,⁴⁹ Esq., and Mary Gallophin widow.
 1767. May 4.—Mr. Edward Burslem⁵⁰ and— [Blank in Register].
 1767. July 25.—Captain Arthur Achmutty⁵¹ and Miss Ursula DeCruz.
 1767. August 22.—Thomas Watts and Mary, Armenian, spinster.
 1767. September 2.—Mr. Simeon Droze⁵² and Miss Francis Boulet.⁵³
 1767. September 3.—Captain John Fortnom and Miss Jane Yeates.
 1767. September 8.—Captain John Green and Mary Baker, spinster.
 1767. October 19.—William Elliott⁵⁴ and Bridget Dias, spinster.
 1767. October 24.—George Vansittart,⁵⁵ Esq., and Sarah Stonehouse,⁵ spinster.

⁴⁸ Mary Ironside. On Burial Register, April 8, 1767, Mrs. Mary Plowman.

⁴⁹ Alexander Jephson. In 1765 a free merchant at Patna. In February 1768 both Jephson and his wife were imprisoned under a warrant from the Mayor's Court. They made their escape in March, but were re-captured. See Bolts : *Considerations*.

⁵⁰ Edward Burslem. Burial December 30, 1770.

⁵¹ Captain Arthur Achmutty. Cadet, 1760; Lieutenant, August 26, 1763; Captain, December 20, 1764; Major, September 3, 1768; Lieutenant-Colonel, September 13, 1779; Colonel, May 28, 1786. Died December 6, 1793, at Dinapore. This was one of several marriages also solemnised in the R.C. Church.

⁵² Simeon Droze (or Droz). In 1765 Assistant at Patna. On September 26, 1767, Droz was Deputy Secretary, and in November appears as Secretary to the Council. Sheriff of Calcutta, 1768; Chief at Patna, 1769; Secretary and Accountant to the Council of Revenue for the Province of Behar, February, 1771. On the union of the two departments of commerce and revenue at Patna on February 6, 1772, he was appointed fourth on the Council there. Gave evidence in the Grand-Francis Suit. In 1778 he is Grand Junior Warden of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal, and Deputy Provincial Grand Master in the following year.

⁵³ Frances Boulet. This lady, I cannot help believing, was a French inhabitant of Chandernagore.

⁵⁴ William Elliott, who was a landowner in Calcutta, is very probably the person of that name mentioned in Mr. S. C. Hill's *List*. The executors to his will were Charles Weston and Michael Derozio, Merchant, son of Andre and Rita Derozio. Michael Derozio was married at the R.C. Church, on September 22, 1774, to his widow Mrs. Bridget (or Brizida) Elliott (*né* Dias) mentioned above. They were the grandparents of H. L. V. Derozio, the poet. Michael Derozio died August 23, 1809; his widow survived him some years, dying at Bhaugulpore June 30, 1832. These dates, etc., will not be found in the *Bengal Obituary*. Of William Elliott's children two at least outlived him :—Diana who married at the Old Mission Church, November 15, 1779, Edward Mullins the elder, and Charles who died in or about the year 1796. The latter was a god-son of the Missionary J. Z. Kiernander.

⁵⁵ George Vansittart } See *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. III, pp. 362-363. The name should

⁵ Sarah Stonehouse } be Stonhouse.

1767. December 2.—Thomas Pearson⁶⁷ and Sarah Irwin.
 1767. December 20.—John Man and Mary Dunstey, spinster.
 1768. February 2.—Nicholas Gruber⁶⁸ and Anna Yates, spinster.
 1768. April 11.—Captain William Tolly⁶⁹ and Maria Hintz, spinster.
 1768. April 13.—Joseph Porter and Mary Fungever, spinster.
 1768. April 26.—Mr. Henry Walter and Alice Mills,⁷⁰ spinster.
 1768. May 4.—Samuel Eddinton and Elizabeth Walker, spinster.
 1768. June 1.—William Wilson and Mary Flamins, spinster.
 1768. September 14.—Anthony Hartle,⁶¹ Lieutenant in the Company's Service, and Miss Elizabeth Webber.
 1768. September 15.—Captain William Hessman⁶² and Miss Elizabeth Mills.
 1768. November 3.—Mr. Thomas Hamilton, Surgeon, and Miss Elizabeth Falkner.
 1768. November 14.—George Beer, in the Pilots' Service, and Martha Wood, spinster.
 1768. November 15.—Robert Maddison, Esq., Factor in the Company's Service, and Miss Lucy Prole.
 1768. November 24.—Frederick Thomas Smith, Esq., Town Major, and Miss Elizabeth Hamilton.
 1769. January 27.—Henry Phelps, Drummer in ye Artillery, and Antonia de Rosario.
 T. Yate, Chaplain.

⁶⁷ Thomas Pearson. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 71.

⁶⁸ Nicholas Gruber. In 1765 at Budaul (Long : *Selections*, p. 413). Secretary to Council 1773 ; went home in 1778 by way of Suez.

⁶⁹ Captain William Tolly. The maker of Tolly's Nullah, and the founder of Tollyganj. In 1778 he leased Gopalnagore and Zeerut with Belvedere House from Hastings, and in 1780 purchased the latter. It was to his house Francis was brought after the famous duel. He became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1782, and resigned the service in January, 1784. Sailing for England on the *Dutton*, he died before reaching St. Helena.

⁷⁰ Alice Mills. The Burial Register, December 7, 1769, gives "Alice, wife of Thomas Walter, Resident at Chatigon." The *Bengal Obituary* gives the following inscription as from the South Park Street Cemetery :—

In Memory of MRS. ALICE WALTER

Who died December 10th, 1769,

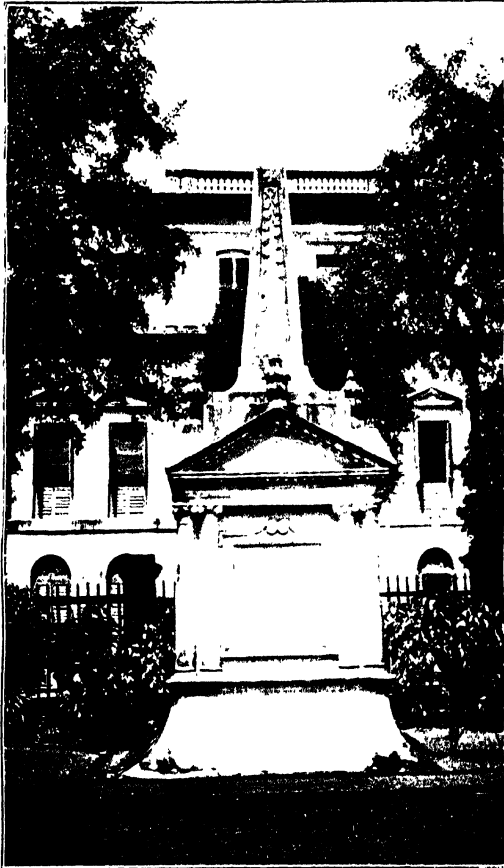
Lamented by her husband and all her friends

The Christian name of the Resident at Chitagon was Henry.

⁶¹ Anthony Hartle. Lieutenant, September 13, 1768 ; Captain, 1777 ; Major, February 4, 1781 ; Lieutenant-Colonel, January 22, 1794. Died October 28, 1797. He married again, July 8, 1783, Miss Bridget Hoare.

⁶² Captain William Hessman. In a letter, dated 7th November 1779, "Camp at Dalmow, Brigadier-General Stibbert reports that Major William Hessman has been killed by Col. Ironside in a duel.

St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta.



TOMB OF ADMIRAL CHARLES WALTON.
[From a Photograph by "The Imprest," Calcutta.]

1769. February 4.—Richard Philips, Mate of a Country Snow, and Mary Bell, widow. T. Yate, Chaplain.
1769. February 9.—Captain Horton Briscoe⁶³ and Miss Maria Howett. T. Yate, Chaplain.
1769. March 5.—Mr. Joshua Nixon and Miss Ann Bine.
1769. March 28.—William Lushington, Esq.,⁶⁴ and Miss Paulina French. T. Yate, Chaplain.
1769. April 3.—Captain Edward Ellerker⁶⁵ and Miss Mary Gascoigne. T. Yate, Chaplain.
1769. June 5.—Mr. Robert Crawford⁶⁶ and Miss Elizabeth Higgins. T. Yate, Chaplain.
1769. September 11.—Thomas Woodfind, Sergeant in ye 1st Brigade, and Eleanor Roger, a Portuguese.
1769. September 15.—Mr. Samuel Lewis⁶⁷ and Miss Anna Isabella Lons. T. Yate, Chaplain.
1769. November 23.—Mr. John Holland, Merchant at Madras, and Miss Ann Henchman.
1769. November 25.—Mr. George Rook,⁶⁸ Lieutenant in ye Company's Service, and Mrs. Phillis Case, widow. T. Yate, Chaplain.
1769. December 19.—Mr. Edward Curfy,⁶⁹ Lieutenant in the Company's Service, and Miss Flora Campbell.

⁶³ Captain Horton Briscoe. Ensign, August 25, 1763; Lieutenant, April 15, 1764; Captain, July 28, 1766; Major, February 25, 1778; Lieutenant-Colonel, December 4, 1781; Colonel, June 19, 1781; Major-General, December 20, 1793. Died, December 25, 1802, at Calcutta. He married again in 1774, July 28. Inscription in the South Park Street Cemetery :—

Sacred to the memory of
MARIA BRISCOE,
Eldest daughter of
Major-General Horton Briscoe.
Obt. 16 May 1796, .Æt. 24.
Hinc illæ lacrymæ.

⁶⁴ Wm. Lushington, brother of Henry Lushington, of the Black Hole, the "Loll Coggedge" and the Patna Massacre Memory. Son of Rev. H. Lushington.

⁶⁵ Captain Edward Ellerker. Ensign, October 13, 1764; Lieutenant, October 26, 1768; Captain, April 4, 1769; Subdued the Jaintia Pergunahs, 1773; Major, June 4, 1781; Lieutenant-Colonel, May 27, 1786; Colonel, May 3, 1796; Major-General, May 3, 1796. Died November 25, 1802, at Bhagulpore.

⁶⁶ Robert Crauford. Burial Register, December 10, 1769.

⁶⁷ Samuel Lewis. Collector of Calcutta, August-November, 1772. Resident at Midnapore 1773-74. Died in 1776.

⁶⁸ George Rooke. Ensign, November 13, 1762; Lieutenant, May 28, 1767; Captain June 26, 1771. Resigned June 17, 1774.

⁶⁹ Edward Curfy. Ensign, September 15, 1767; Lieutenant, October 3, 1769; Captain, January 4, 1778; Major, September 20, 1781. Died November 20, 1791, at Barrackpore.

1769. December 22.—Mr. Thomas Smith,⁷⁰ Captain in the Company's Service, and Mrs. Elizabeth Dunstall,⁷¹ widow. T. Yate, Chaplain.

1770. January 22.—Lieutenant-Colonel John Cummings,⁷² in the Company's Service, and Miss Mary Wedderburn.

1770. January 30.—Joseph Peach, Esq.,⁷³ Colonel in ye Company's Service, and Miss Apphia Witts. T. Yate, Chaplain.

1770. February 5.—Richard Teyen. Dutchman in ye Pilots' Service, and Isabella de Silva, Portuguese, were married in ye Portuguese Church. T. Yate, Chaplain.

1770. June 12.—Mr. Robert Palk,⁷⁴ Factor in ye Company's Service, and Miss Lucia Stonehouse.⁷⁵ J. Baines and T. Yate.

⁷⁰ Thomas Smith. Lieutenant, July 20, 1765; Captain, September 10, 1767. Died September 26, 1774, at Banjana.

⁷¹ Mrs. Elizabeth Dunstall. Perhaps the Miss Seaton who married Captain Norcross Dunstall, February 19, 1761.

⁷² Afterwards Sir John Cummings. Captain, November 13, 1763; Major, January 1, 1768; Lieutenant-Colonel, November 30, 1769; Colonel, June 10, 1779. Died August 26, 1786, at St. Helena.

⁷³ Joseph Peach. Major, April, 1764; Lieutenant-Colonel, May 4, 1765; Colonel, February, 1767. In 1767 commanded the 1st Brigade, having in 1765 commanded the 2nd European Regiment at Allahabad. Died July 1770, at Monghyr.

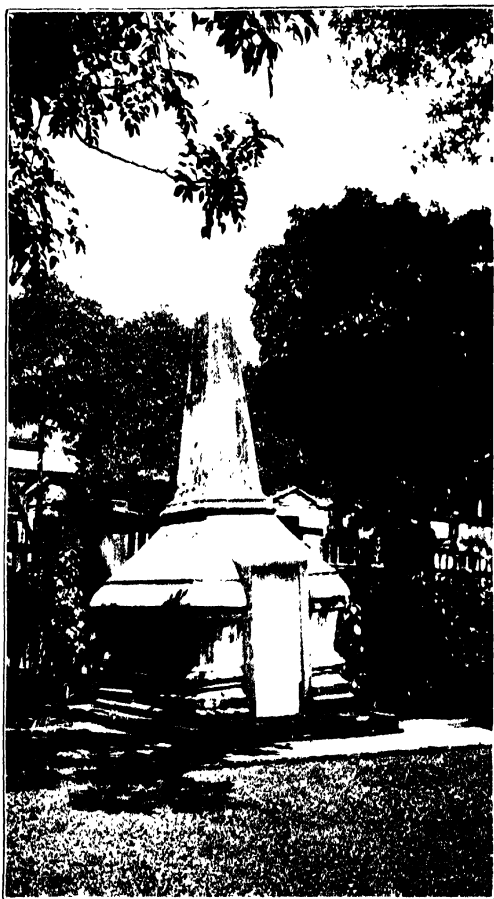
⁷⁴ Robert Palk. Probably a near relative to Sir Robert Palk, the Chaplain who became Governor of Madras. It was he who committed Nanda Kumar for trial. (See Stephen's *Nuncomar and Impey*, Vol. I, p. 97.) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, p. 42.

⁷⁵ Lucia Stonehouse. The name is Stonhouse. The inscription on her tomb in the South Park Street Burial Ground (which attracted the notice of Rudyard Kipling and is quoted in his *City of Dreadful Night*) runs as follows:—

IN MEMORY OF LUCIA,
Wife of ROBERT PALK, Esq.,
Daughter of the Rev. D. Stonehouse :
Born at Northampton 26th November 1747 :
deceased June 22nd, 1772 :

What needs the emblem ; what the plaintive strain ;
What all the art that sculpture e'er expressed
To tell the treasure that these walls contain ?
Let those declare it most who knew it best ;
The tender pity she would oft betray
Shall be with interest at her shrine returned ;
Connubial love, connubial tears repay,
And Lucia lov'd shall still be Lucia mourn'd !
Tho' grief will weep and friendship heave the sigh,
Tho' wounded memory the fond tear shall shed !
Yet not let fruitless sorrow dim the eye
To teach the living, die the sacred dead
Tho' clos'd the lips, tho' stopp'd the tuneful breath,
The silent clay-cold monotress shall teach,
In all th' alarming eloquence of death,
With double pathos to the heart shall preach,

St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta.



TOMB OF MRS. ELEANOR WINWOOD.

[From a Photograph by "The Empress," Calcutta.]

1770. July 2.—Ralph Winwood, Esq.,⁷⁶ Lieutenant-Colonel in the Company's Service, and Mrs. Elizabeth Parry, widow.

1770. July 17.—Mr. William Barton,⁷⁷ Factor in the Company's Service and Miss Harriot Higgins.

August 25.—Mr. William Wynne, Secretary, and Miss Anne Maria Mapletoft.⁷⁸

September 18.—William Waite⁷⁹, Carpenter, and Lucy Gope, spinster.

1771. January 15.—James Harris, Esq.,⁸⁰ Chief of Dacca, and Miss Henrietta Thackeray.⁸¹

1771. April 3.—John Bathoe, Esq.,⁸² Factor in the Company's Service, and Mrs. Elizabeth Lindsay, widow.

1771. June 29.—Mr. Jacob Rider, Factor in the Company's Service, and Miss Frances Carter.

1771. July 22.—William Barrington, Conductor of Artillery, and Ann Cocklane, spinster.

1771. July 27.—William Bodell, Carpenter, and Mary Whiffin, spinster.

1771. August 17.—Mr. John Deffel, Chief Mate of the *Morse* East Indiaman, and Miss Caroline Vane.

1771. August 22.—Mr. Thomas Henchman, Factor in ye Company's Service, and Mrs. Maria Gee,⁸³ widow.

Shall tell the virtuous maid, the faithful wife,
If young and fair, that young and fair was she.
Then close the useful lesson of her life
And tell them what she is they soon must be.

There is an engraving of the monument to one whom I suppose was Lucia's mother in Hervey's once well-known *Meditations among the Tombs, etc.*

⁷⁶ Ralph Winwood. Captain, 1765; Major, October 19, 1766; Lieutenant-Colonel, September 4, 1768. Resigned September 21, 1770. The tomb of his former wife, Mrs. Elkaner Winwood (1766) in St. John's Churchyard.

⁷⁷ William Barton. Suspended by the Board of Trade in 1778.

⁷⁸ Anne (Anna) Maria Mapletoft, the eldest child of the Rev. Robert and Sarah (widow of James Irwin) and also widow of Captain Henry Palmer. Full information in Hyde's *Archæol. Annals of Bengal*, pp. 103 *et. seq.*

⁷⁹ The tombstone, in the North Park Street Cemetery, of William Waite, blacksmith of Clive Street, records that "upon every occasion he chose rather to give up than exact a right by an appeal to the law." But since he died in 1805, aged 48, it could scarcely be the same person as the above William Waite.

⁸⁰ and ⁸¹ James Harris. Made over charge of the Factory at Dacca to Wm. Lambert, 28th March 1772. See Sir W. W. Hunter's *The Thackerays in India*.

⁸² John Bathoe. In December 1770 had been Resident at Malda. (O. C., January 15, 1771, No. 11). On March 1 appointed Export Warehouse Keeper at Calcutta being replaced at Malda by Henchman. 3rd at Dacca, February 6, 1772.

⁸³ Maria Gee. Probably the widow of Abraham Gee, buried 11th February 1762. Abraham was perhaps the brother of Zachariah Gee, Master Attendant, whose daughter Anne married (1) Sir Francis

1771. December 15.—Dominique Hopkins, private in the Governor's troop, and Rosa, a Portuguese.

T. Yate.

1772. January 15.—Mr. Samuel How Showers,⁸¹ Captain in the Company's Service, and Miss Ann Hammond.

1772. February 14.—Mr. Charles Sealy,⁸⁵ Attorney-at-Law, and Miss Mary Hammond.

1772. February 20.—Simon John Debrune, and Mary Nero, Portuguese.

1772. February 23.—Matthew Yandle⁸⁶ and Sophia Terry, widow.

1772. March 4.—Charles Leslie, Esq., Captain of His Majesty's Ship *Warwick*, and Mrs. Lucy Maddison, widow.

1772. June 22.—Mr. John Scott,⁸⁷ Lieutenant in ye Company's Service,§ and Miss Eliza Blackery.

W. Johnson, Chaplain.

1772. July 14.—Mr. Hugh Castlemain, Pilot, and Miss Mary Lamb.

1772. July 25.—Captain Philip Delafield⁸⁸ and Miss Mary Bertie.

Russell, and (2) Thomas Holmes Zachariah Gee who held the lease of the Rope Walk near which Lady Russell's House was situated.

⁸¹ Samuel How Showers. (*Vide* 1772, O. C. No. 1). Ensign, December 27, 1764; Lieutenant, December 4, 1766; Captain, April 14, 1769; Major, January 5, 1781; Lieutenant-Colonel, May 28, 1786. Dismissed by Court-Martial, 1793. Mrs. Showers died at Patna, 1778. By what is apparently a misprint, her husband is described in the *Bengal Obituary* (page 303) as Captain Samuel "Stone" Showers, while his middle name, as engraved on the tablet, is "Stow." He married secondly, in 1779, Mrs. Melian Dare. In connection with the first marriage Bro. A. Rome, S.J., writes from the R.C. Cathedral, Murgihatta:—"I am giving you the entry asked for as it stands in our Registers:—Aos 14 de Janro. de 1772 Catouse Capitao Samuel How Showers, nal. de Inglaterra, com Anna Hammond, natural de Colcala, nesta Igra de Snra. de Rozario de Colcata foras testemuntras Cuthbert Thornhill, Sophia Schoram, Maria Hammond. (Sd.) H. João de S. Nicolao, *Viga*."

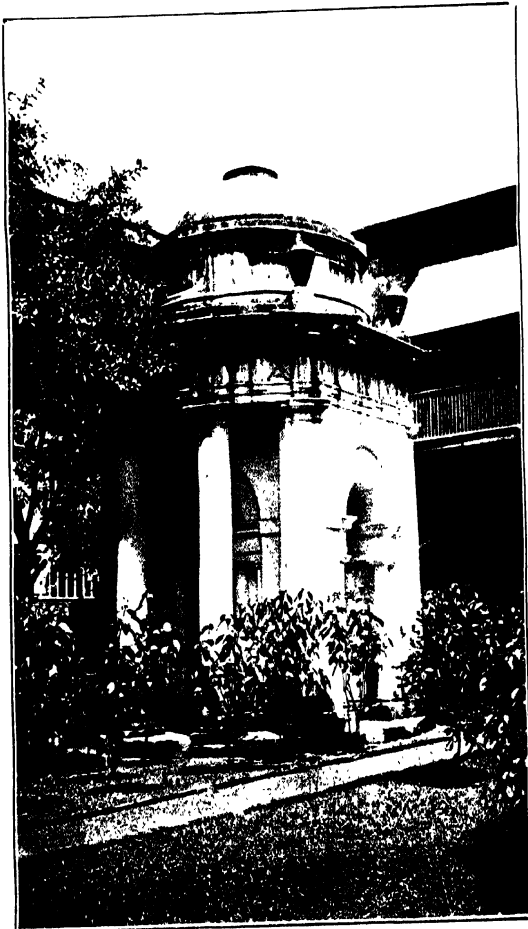
⁸⁵ Charles Sealy. *Vide* Hyde: *Parochial Annals of Bengal; Bengal: Past and Present* and Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters from India*. They were also married the same day at the R.C. Church, the bride's name being recorded in the register as "Maria Emin." Charles Sealy and his wife Mary (*vide* Hammond) were the great-grandparents of the Viceroy Lord Northbrook, their daughter, Mary Ursula Sealy, having married (at St. John's, September 13, 1794) Thomas Baring, B.C.S., afterwards Sir Thomas Baring, Bart. The eldest son of the latter couple was the first Baron Northbrook, born and baptised at Calcutta. His son, again, was the first Earl Northbrook, Viceroy of India, who, it may be remembered, presented to St. John's Vestry a painting of his great-grandfather, Charles Sealy.

⁸⁶ Matthew Yandle was the Warder of the Jail in which Nanda Kumar was confined. It may be noted that Terry was the name of Yandle's predecessor as Warder. About 1780, I trace the name of Matthew Yandle as a Lieutenant of Marines on the Privateer *Death or Glory*.

⁸⁷ John Scott. Ensign, August 14, 1767; Lieutenant, October 4, 1769; Captain, January 3, 1778; February 21, 1781. Resigned, 1781.

⁸⁸ Captain Philip Delafield. Ensign, April 7, 1765; Lieutenant, August 7, 1765; Captain, September 14, 1767. Dismissed by Court-Martial, February 24, 1777. He left the country owing an enormous sum to the Company.

St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta.



TOMB OF THE "BEGUM" JOHNSON.
[From a photograph by "The Empire," Calcutta.]

1772. July 31.—Captain Robert Patton⁸⁹ and Miss Constantia Adriana Sally Mapletoft.⁹⁰ W. Johnson, Chaplain.

1772. August 3.—Mr. Henry Walter, Factor in the Company's Service, and Miss Elizabeth Worral.

1772. August 31.—Henry Goodwin, Esq., of Council, and Miss Amelia York. Wm. Johnson, Chaplain.

1772. September 17.—Mr. William Hosea,⁹¹ Factor in the Company's Service, and Miss May Browne.

1772. October 4.—Robert Brown, sailmaker, and Jane Cantofer.

1772. October 15.—Mr. James Rennel,⁹² Captain in the Company's Service, and Miss Jane Thackeray.⁹³

1772. October 30.—William Richardson, Free Merchant, and Mary Weekes, widow.

1772. November 18.—George Bolton Eyres,⁹⁴ Esq., Major in ye Company's Service, and Miss Anna Harris.

1772. December 22.—Mr. Edward Smith, a writer, and Miss Mary Hargrave.

1773. January 2.—Thomas Dickson, Esq., Captain of a country ship, and Miss Margaret Baillie.

1773. March 4.—Mr. Henry Wedderburne,⁹⁵ Master Attendant, and Miss Alice Tetly.

⁸⁹ Captain Robert Patton. Ensign, July 22, 1766; Lieutenant, June 18, 1767; Captain, July 4, 1771. Resigned, March 2, 1775; A.-D.-C. to Warren Hastings.

⁹⁰ Miss Constantia Adriana Sally Mapletoft. A daughter of the Rev. Robert Mapletoft, one of the Fulta refugees. Her mother, Sarah, had found refuge with the Dutch Governor, Adrian Bisdom, at Chinsurah, where C. A. S. M. was born, and was given her first two names in compliment to her God-mother, the Dutch Governor's wife. Seventeen children were born of this marriage.

⁹¹ William Hosea. A nephew of the historian Orme. 1771 February 7, Assistant to the Council of Revenue of Behar. 1772-3, Collector of Hughli. Last appointment—2nd of Council of Murshidabad. See Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters*. He and his wife and child were among the unfortunate survivors of the wreck of the *Grosvenor*.

⁹² Mr. James Rennel (more correctly Rennell). Born 1772; died 1830. This was the previous "father of Indian geography." See *Dict. Nat. Biography*.

⁹³ Jane Thackeray. See Sir Wm. Hunter's *The Thackerays in India*.

⁹⁴ George Bolton Eyres. On the Consultations of Government in 1781, George Robert Eyres, son of Major George Bolton Eyres is admitted a cadet in the Company's Service. Cf. O. C. 1772, March 9, No. 8A.

⁹⁵ Henry Wedderburn. On the Burial Register, July 23rd, 1776, occurs the name "Margaret, wife of Mr. Henry Wedderburn." A considerable number of his letters will be found on the Consultations. The *Bengal Obituary* gives the epitaph on his tomb in the South Park Street Cemetery as follows:—

HENRY WEDDERBURN,
Many years Master Attendant at Calcutta,
Served the Hon. E. I. Company
in the troubles with
Suraja-ul-Dowlah and Cossim Ally Cawn.

1773. March 25.—Mr. Benjamin Lacam,⁹⁶ Free Merchant, and Miss Kitty Statham.

1773. March 28.—Mr. Charles Graeme, Writer in ye Company's Service, and Miss Elizabeth Saunders.

1773. April 30.—William Crump and Elizabeth Estaff, widow.

1773. July 11.—William Cumming,⁹⁷ Pilot in ye Company's Service, and Catherine Parkinson.

1773. July 31.—William Brown and Catherina Robinson, widow.

1773. August 7.—Peter Burrowes, Sergeant, 3rd Brigade, and Maria Norbourn, widow.

1773. October 7.—Lieutenant Samuel Watson⁹⁸ and Eleanor Fielding.⁹⁹

1773. October 25.—Thomas Woodfind, Serjeant in the 1st Brigade, and Elizabeth Martin.

1773. November 4.—Mr. James Ross, Writer in ye Company's Service, and Miss Hannah Lewis.

1773. November 11.—Samuel Weller, Captain of a country ship, and Rosa Cantopher.

1773. December 15.—Mr. John Lloyd, Factor in the Company's Service, and Lydia Bowyer.

1774. January 19.—Mr. William Coates, Factor in ye Company's Service, and Miss Diana Rochfort.¹⁰⁰

Departed this life, the 17th November 1777,

Much esteemed and lamented

by all who knew him ;

aged 46 years.

His widow, as a mark

of her affection and gratitude,

erected this monument to his Memory.

⁹⁶ Benjamin Lacam has an obscure but not unimportant part in the Hastings-Francis troubles. He was one of the first to propose the reclamation of Saugor Island.

⁹⁷ Possibly the William Cumming whose epitaph is given on p. 81 of the *Bengal Obituary*.

⁹⁸ Lieutenant Samuel Watson, Ensign, July 26, 1769; Lieutenant, November 10, 1772; Captain November 19, 1780; Major, March 1, 1794; Lieutenant-Colonel, July 27, 1779; Colonel, May 29, 1800; Major-General, April 25, 1800; Lieutenant-General, June 4, 1813. Died at Dinapore, July 11, 1814.

⁹⁹ Eleanor Fielding. The *Bengal Obituary* gives these two inscriptions from the South Park Street Burial Ground :—

Here lies interred the remains of

ELIZABETH WATSON,

Born 6th May 1751 and died 19th of October 1776.

And also of SAMUEL WATSON, her son,

Born 11th of October, and died the 25th.

¹⁰⁰ Miss Diana Rochfort. See note No. 131, under D'Oyly, March 16, 1779.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCHYARD, CALCUTTA.



IN MEMORY OF THE OFFICERS AND MEN KILLED IN THE SECOND BOHOTA
WAR - OCT. 1794.

[From a Photograph by "The Empress," Calcutta.]

1774. January 20.—John Hamilton, Pilot, and Constantia Burgess, widow.

1774. March 21.—Mr. Edward Parry, Junior Merchant, and Miss Amelia Vansittart.

1774. April 24.—Robert Robertson and Ann Casey, spinster.

1774. May 25.—Mr. Edward Stocombe, Mariner, and Ann Prince, spinster.

1774. June 1.—The Rev. William Johnson,¹⁰¹ one of the Chaplains of this Presidency, and Mrs. Frances Watts,¹⁰² widow.

1774. July 7.—John Marquet, Inhabitant, and Elizabeth Carter.

1774. July 28.—Mr. Horton Briscoe,¹⁰³ Captain of Sepoys, and Miss Millisant Jane Banks.

1774. August 5.—Mr. Thos. Anderson, Surgeon, and Miss Elizabeth Dixon.

1774. May 26.—John Forbes, Sergeant and Mary Teryra.

1774. September 18.—Daniel Marswain, Carpenter, and Margaret Macleod.

1774. September 22.—Mr. David Arthur, Captain of the *Sea Horse* Indiaman, and Miss Susan Bertie.

1774. October 23.—Arthur Cooper, Sergeant, and Rosa de Pegoral.

1774. November (?).—Lieutenant John Grant,¹⁰⁴ and Miss Rosa de Cruz.

1775. January 15.—Henry Scott, Quartermaster-Sergeant, and Betie Degio, a Portuguese.

1775. January 25.—Mr. Thomas Dibden, Captain of a country ship, and Miss Elizabeth Compton.

1775. February 28.—Mr. William Aldersey, Esq.,¹⁰⁵ Member of ye Council of Commerce, and Miss Henrietta Yorke.

1775. March 16.—John Blatchford, Inhabitant, and Catherine Rozario.

1775. June 22.—Thomas Jones, Inhabitant, and Anna Saltor.

1775. July 16.—Philip Armstrong and Sarah Marony.

1775. July 23.—Joseph Bromwick, Inhabitant, and Anne Ajwarah.

1775. July 23.—John Baker and Charlotte Harrenal.

¹⁰¹ The Rev. W. Johnson. } The history of these two persons is too famous to need annotation in

¹⁰² Mrs. Frances Watts. } this place. Consult Hyde: *Parochial Annals of Bengal*.

¹⁰³ Horton Briscoe. See Foot-note No. 64.

¹⁰⁴ Lieutenant John Grant. This may be one of two officers bearing the same name. See Dodwell and Miles' *Alphabetical List of Officers of the Indian Army*, 1838. A Captain John Grant, who died April 28, 1728, aged 32, is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery.

¹⁰⁵ William Aldersey was one of the Madras servants brought up by Lord Clive in 1766 to take the place of those who had been suspended. He became Secretary. President of the Board of Trade, 1778.

1775. October 5.—Captain David Scott and Mrs. Louisa Jervis of Bombay, widow.

1775. November 19.—George Reynolds, Sergeant, and Ann Bimbry.

1775. December 13.—Henry Walter,¹⁰⁶ Junior Merchant in the Company's Service, and Miss Ann Peacock.

1776. January 31.—Mr. William Makepeace Thackeray,¹⁰⁷ Junior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Amelia Webb.

1776. February 7.—Mr. William Larkins,¹⁰⁸ Writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Mary Harris.

1776. February 19.—Mr. Thomas Moore Ellwood, Inhabitant, and Melissa Scott.

1776. April 8.—Mr. William Byam Marlow, Junior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Charlotte Yorke.

1776. April 16.—John Flanagan, Inhabitant, and Aurora Smith, spinster.

1776. April 17.—Joseph Hollaway, Sergeant, and Lucy Mills.

1776. May 26.—James Hall, Sergeant, and Johanna Rose Muller.

1776. June 30.—Daniel Campbell, Soldier, and Phillis de Rosar.

1776. September 13.—Richard Barwell,¹⁰⁹ Esq., Member of ye Supreme Council of Bengal, and Miss Elizabeth Jane Sanderson.¹¹⁰

1776. November 7.—Mr. William Jackson, Attorney-at-Law, and Miss Margaret Stewart.

1776. November 17.—Charles Young, Corporal, and Clara Bonny, widow.

1777. January 13.—Lewis Selby, Inhabitant, and Meheatable Gasquoine, singlewoman.

1777. January 18.—Mr. Francis Le Gallais,¹¹¹ Inhabitant, and Patty Claverly, singlewoman. William Johnson, Chaplain.

¹⁰⁶ Henry Walter. See under 1769 and 1772.

¹⁰⁷ William Makepeace Thackeray (known as "Sylhet" Thackeray) and Amelia Webb were the grand parents of William Makepeace Thackeray (Junior), the novelist. Miss Webb was a descendant of General Richmond Webb of Wynendael fame who is immortalised in "Esmond." Their second son, Richmond of the Bengal Civil Service, was the novelist's father who married at St. John's, Calcutta, on October 13, 1810, Miss Anne Becher.

¹⁰⁸ William Larkins. In March 1776 Mackrabie records "Mrs. Larkins, a bride; her husband is a young Company's Servant, under age, but looks forty, William Larkins" See Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New*, p. 824.

¹⁰⁹ Richard Barwell. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹¹⁰ Elizabeth Jane Sanderson, the daughter of Robert Sanderson, a Company's Servant and Sheriff of Calcutta, who gave evidence in the Grand-Francis case. The reader is referred to Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta*. An inscription has recently been placed on the tomb of Elizabeth Sanderson by the Government of Bengal at the suggestion of the C. I. S. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Volume III.

¹¹¹ Francis Le Gallais. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, p. 39.

1777. February 9.—Isaac Wren, Gunner in the Artillery, and Rosetta, singlewoman.

1777. February 10.—Mr. William Fenwicke, Inhabitant, and Miss Elizabeth Parkinson. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1777. March 1.—Simeon Droze, Esq.,¹¹² a member of the Board of Commerce, and Miss Mary Ashe.¹¹³

1777. March 17.—Lieutenant Walter Burke, in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service, and Mrs. Catherine Hanson, widow.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1777. April 8.—Mr. James Stormont, Surgeon at Moorshedabad, and Miss Janet Guthrie.

1777. April 22.—Mr. James Irwine,¹¹⁴ Senior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Selina Brooke,¹¹⁵ Spinster.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1777. May 17.—Mr. James English Keighley, Senior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Mary Higgins.¹¹⁶

1777. May 28.—Mr. Samuel Peat, Attorney-at-Law, and Miss Mary Cove. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1777. July 10.—Mr. Francis Grand,¹¹⁷ Writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Varlé¹¹⁸ of Chandernagore.

1777. July 27.—James Campbell, Sergeant, and Maria de Rozario.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1777. August 8.—The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General of India, and Miss Anna Maria Appolonia Chapusettin.

1777. August 10.—Donald Mackenzie, Soldier, and Paulina, singlewoman.

¹¹² Simeon Droze (or Droz). Assistant at Patna, 1765. Secretary to Council.

¹¹³ Miss Ashe. See Busteed: *Echoes*, p. 126

¹¹⁴ Mr. James Irwine. More correctly Irwin.

¹¹⁵ Miss Selina Brooke. Very probably the Mrs. I — C. of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters*—the lady who suffered shipwreck on the *Dartmouth*. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, January 1909.

¹¹⁶ Miss Mary Higgins. The *Bengal Obituary* gives the following inscription from the South Park Street Burial Ground:—

Juxta Cineres Filii Iacobi,
MARIA KEIGHTLY
Uxor et Deliciæ Jacobi English Keighly,
Armiger; in expectatione Diei Supremæ
Hic jacet. Qualis erat—
Ista Dies Indicabit. Obit 11, Nov.
Anno Dom, 1782, Ætatis suæ 32.

¹¹⁷ Mr. Francis Grand } This is a very famous marriage. The reader is referred to Dr. Busteed's

¹¹⁸ Miss Varlé } *Echoes of Old Calcutta* and to *Bengal: Past and Present*,

1777. August 14.—Mr. Lawrence Gall,¹¹⁰ Aide-de-Camp to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, and Miss Sophia Fortnom,¹²⁰ spinster.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1777. October 16.—Mr. George Harrison, Surgeon, and Miss May Helass.

1777. October 27.—Mr. John Laird, Surgeon in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Elizabeth Orr.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1777. December 19.—Charles Morgan,¹²¹ Esq., Major in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Hannah Wagstaff.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1778. January 11.—James White, Corporal, and Ann Leslie.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1778. February 2.—William Howard, Inhabitant, and Betty Ayres, widow.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1778. April 26.—John Evans, Serjeant, and Elizabeth Fullcross.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1778. August 1.—John Coxon,¹²² Esq., Commander of the *Grosvenor* East Indiaman, and Miss Harriet Sherburne, Singlewoman.

¹¹⁰ Lawrence Gall. See Busteed's *Echoes*, p. 229. Possibly the person to whom this inscription was erected in the South Park Street Cemetery :—

LAWRENCE GALL, Esq.

Obit 27th April, 1806, aged 61 years

Of misfortunes, my good friend,

You have had a certain portion, pass that by,

You have been a very, very good son ;

As kind a brother ;

A tender and affectionate husband ;

One to be numbered among the best of fathers ;

A faithful friend, a human benefactor,

And a strictly honest man.

(On the reverse.)

This is LAWRENCE GALL'S tomb,

Consecrated by his son and daughters.

As a testimony of filial affection

Which has superseded all other duties.

It was thy fate, O Gall, to live

Long enough to see thyself neglected

By those friends who ought to have served thee.

To thee and thine fortune has been unkind.

¹²⁰ A Miss Hannah Mary Fortnom was married at Berhampore on 14th March 1789 to Major Alexander Orme.

¹²¹ Charles Morgan. Cadet, 1763 ; Captain, March 13, 1765 ; Major, September 29, 1769 ; Lieutenant-Colonel, September 14, 1770 ; Colonel, May 28, 1786 ; Major-General, December 20, 1793 ; retired, 1799.

¹²² John Coxon. For an account of the wreck of the *Grosvenor* and the terrible fate of most of the survivors see *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. II, Part II.

1778. August 26.—Mr. Francis Hodgson,¹²³ Lieutenant in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service, and Miss Maria Fellus of Chandernagore, single-woman.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1778. September 6.—Michael Jennings, Soldier, and Sarah Anstring, widow.

1778. September 17.—Mr. North Naylor,¹²⁴ Attorney to the Hon'ble Company, and Miss Anne Bertie, spinster.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1778. October 19.—John Scott, Esq., Free Merchant, and Ann Smith, spinster.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1778. November 15.—Frederic Johnson, Matross,¹²⁵ and Catherine Lisarder.

1778. November 20.—Mr. Thomas Evans, Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Augusta Webb.

1778. November 20.—John Nickman, Soldier, and Ann Maria.

1778. December 19.—Mr. Coales, Writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Dolly Hardyman.

1778. December 21.—Lieutenant John Haines and Anna Maria Gravely,¹²⁶ widow.

1779. January 5.—Thomas Motte¹²⁷ and Miss Mary Touchet,¹²⁸ spinster.

¹²³ Francis Hodgson. Cadet, 1770; Ensign, December 19, 1772; Lieutenant, March 18, 1777; Captain, March 18, 1781. Died, April 27, 1779, at Fatty Ghur.

¹²⁴ Thomas North Naylor. The son of the Rev. Thomas Naylor of Ashlurton in the county of Devon. Attorney to the H.E.I. Co. In the conflict between the Supreme Council and the Supreme Court Naylor was involved, and from the 1st to the 16th March was imprisoned for contempt of Court. It is very inaccurately asserted that this imprisonment was the cause of his death, which did not actually occur till 18th August; but his wife died during his imprisonment on 6th March, 1780. References to North Naylor will be found in *Hastings' Letters to his Wife* and the *Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey* (where there are serious mis-statements as to facts).

¹²⁵ Matross. "An inferior class of soldier in the Artillery." Cf. Yule and Burnell: *Hobson Jobson*.

¹²⁶ Anna Maria Gravely. See below under "Marriages in the Outstations."

¹²⁷ Thomas Motte. Dr. Busted writes:—"Mr Motte was a free merchant: in 1766 he undertook a journey to the diamond mines in Orissa by direction of Clive, and wrote an account of it. He afterwards lived at Benares, and moved thence to Hooghly, where the Hastings used to visit Mrs. Motte, who was a great friend of Mrs. Hastings. For some time Mr. Motte held a police appointment in Calcutta, where his name is still preserved in 'Motte's Lane.' About that time he must have got into financial difficulties, as in 1781 there is an advertisement in the newspaper calling a meeting of his creditors. Amongst the Impey manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a petition from Mr. Motte written from the Calcutta jail in 1783, in which this friend of the Governor-General's begs that his creditors will assent to his release from prison on the score of humanity. Busted: *Echoes*, p. 116. Motte seems to have employed *jadhu* extensively in his police work; he had a band known as 'Motte's Conjurers.' It was at Motte's house at Hooghly, Grand was married by the Rev. W. Johnson to Noel C. Verlé, the marriage having been previously performed by 'the popish priest' at Chandernagore." See Sydney Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 439. Motte died at Serampore on 29th January 1805, aged 74.

1779. January 28.—Mr. Edward Rowland Jackson,¹⁹⁰ cadet in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Phœbe Tuting, spinster.

1779. January 22.—Mr. John Carmichael, Junior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Mathilda Bie¹⁹⁰ of Serampore, spinster.

[N.B.—This Marriage (as per date) should have been registered prior to Mr. Jackson's].

1779. January 30.—Mr. Patrick Greene, Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Mrs. Eleanor Hartley,^{180a} widow. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1779. March 16.—Sir John D'Oyly, Baronet,¹³¹ Junior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Mrs. Diana Coates,¹³² widow.

1779. March 29.—Mr. Henry Grant, Free Merchant, and Miss Alicia Camac. William Johnson, Chaplain.

¹²⁰ Miss Mary Touchet. The bosom friend of the second Mrs. Warren Hastings. She left India with Mrs. Hastings on the *Atlas* in January 1784, preferred to return, her separate income being the rent of Mr. Justice Hyde's house (on the site of the present Town Hall). Motte complains that he is "deprived of the comfort of domestic happiness and despised by a woman who never behaved with impropriety except to me." See Sydney Grier, *Op. Cit.* p. 435. In the same book we meet with Mrs. Motte's brother and sister Sally and Peter Touchet. Query, were they the children of Touchet of the famous petition? The christenings of several children of Samuel Touchet, Junior Merchant, are recorded in the registers about this period. The burial of Samuel Touchet, Senior Merchant, is recorded March 28, 1783, by Chaplain William Johnson. His name is omitted both in Dodwell and Miles' *List of Bengal Civil Servants* and the *Bengal Obituary*.

¹²⁹ Edward Rowland Jackson, son of Rowland Jackson, M.D. See Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters*, pp. Cadet : Ensign : Lieutenant 1778. Struck off 1793. The *Bengal Obituary* gives his wife's epitaph in South Park Street Cemetery :—

Sacred to the memory of
MRS. PHŒBE JACKSON,
Late wife of Lieutenant Edward Rowland Jackson,
Who died the 20th November, 1785, aged 24 years.
And ye who now with pensive thoughts peruse
The sad effusions of a mournful muse,
Yet mark though beauty gives thee every grace,
And Youth's warm blood still flushes in your face,
Perhaps o'er you death hold his iron rod
And unprepared demands thee from thy God.

—
The remains of her Father-in-Law
Doctor ROWLAND JACKSON
are deposited near this place.

¹⁹⁰ Miss Bie was a daughter of O. Bie, subsequently (1789-1805) Danish Governor of Serampore.

^{180a} Possibly related to Bartholomew Hartley, M.D., who projected the lottery in aid of the funds for erecting St. John's Church (1784).

¹³¹ Sir John D'Oyly, Bart. An interesting notice of Sir John will be found in Sydney C. Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, pp. 218-20. He is buried in the South Park Street burial ground. Vide *Bengal Obituary*, p. 159.

¹³² Mrs. Diana Coates. See under 1774. She had a son and a daughter by her first marriage. Died in 1803, and buried at Cheltenham. See S. C. Grier, *Op. Cit.* p. 195.

1779. April 9.—Mr. Bryan Glover, Free Merchant, and Miss Eliza Stuart Cockerell, spinster.

1779. April 10.—Captain Justly Hill and Miss Willhelma Carter.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1779. May 9.—Neal Campbell, Pilot, and Rose Morris, widow.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1779. June 5.—Captain Deare¹³³ of the Artillery and Miss Catherine Stark, spinster.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1779. July 5.—Alexander Higginson, Esq., Member of the Board of Trade, and Miss Martha Isaacs, spinster.

1779. July 17.—Mr. William Peters, Mariner, and Ann Butler, widow.

1779. July 18.—William Wright, Soldier, and Mary Christiana, singlewoman.

1779. July 23.—William Ford and Rosilla Powell, singlewoman.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1779. October 10.—William Vary, Soldier, and Catherine de Rosario, singlewoman.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1779. November 6.—Mr. Henry Ramus,¹³⁴ Junior Merchant, and Miss Johanna Vernet,¹³⁵ daughter of—Vernet, Esq., late Governor of the Dutch Factory at Chinsura.

¹³³ Mrs. Catherine Deare. She can have been scarcely more than 14 at the time of marriage. The *Bengal Obituary* gives the following inscription (South Park Street):—

Here rest the remains of
MRS. CATHERINE DEARE
Who died at Calcutta, the 6th Sept., 1790,
aged XXXIV years
In memory of her and of her husband,
LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSEL DEARE,
Who fell by a cannon shot,
On the 13th of the same month ;
While commanding the Bengal Artillery,
in the action fought between a
detachment of the British forces
and that of Tippo Sultan,
near Sattimungulum,
aged XL years.

There is a reference to a Serjeant Wm. Stark in the *Consultations* as early as January 11, 1753. Harry Stark was Deputy Sheriff of Calcutta in 1777, and was contemporary with "James Stark Surgeon," whose service dates from 1773.

¹³⁴ Henry Ramus. Busteed, *Echoes*, p. 340, writes :—" If I may credit the cynical Francis, poor Mrs. Ramus had some ground for hoping for a slice of patronage pie, seeing it was Marian [the 2nd Mrs. Hastings] who provided the second husband for her. In November 1779, Francis notes :—" Sir J. Day appears to be excessively hurt at the marriage of Ramus with Miss Vernet ; he says that it has been hurried in a most extraordinary manner by Mrs. Hastings. This lady, since she married poor Hastings,

1779. November 11.—Mr. John Petrie, Senior Merchant, and Miss Anne Keble.

1779. November 13.—Captain Samuel Showers and Mrs. Melian Dare,¹³⁶ widow.

has taken a strange turn to match-making. She now knows what it is to be married. Ramus, moreover, had influential friends in England, and the judicious Hastings was careful to promote the wishes of such in his patronage. It was in behalf of this same gentleman that the following tolerably broad hint was conveyed to Francis by the Private Secretary of the Prime Minister. 'April, 1776. I have received a letter this morning from Mr. Nicholas Ramus, first page to his Majesty, in which he acquaints me that a letter has come from his son, Mr. Henry Ramus, dated August 5, in which he expresses his great mortification that he had not then been so fortunate as to obtain any mark of favour and protection of the Governor or Council of Bengal.' Miss Benedicta Ramus was the wife of Sir J. Day." For Sir Geo. Louis Vernet see Grier : *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, pp. 226-7. See also note in C. R. Wilson's *List of Inscriptions, Bengal*, p. 124.

¹³³ Miss Johanna Vernet (Vernet). Her father, "George Louis Vernet, who belonged to a noble French family and began life as a page to Louis XV, and went to Bengal in the Dutch Service in 1750. At the time of the destruction of Calcutta by Siraj-u-Daula, he was second in command at the Calcutta factory and showed great kindness to the English of whom Hastings was one. This seems to have been the beginning of their friendship, Vernet became Governor of Chinsurah in 1764 and lived there with a 'great hospitality and in very elegant style' till 1770, when he went to Batavia and died there in 1779." S. C. Grier : *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, pp. 51-2. Vernet was the builder of the Church at Chinsura, now Anglican, 1767.

¹³⁶ Mrs. Melian Dare. "Mrs. Showers," writes Sydney Grier, "was an old and intimate friend of Mrs. Hastings. They were born in the same year 1747. Her letters suggest that she was a foreigner, as does her peculiar Christian name, Melian. From her correspondence with Hastings in 1816 we learn that she first married a Mr. Dare. They were ship-wrecked and Dare drowned, apparently off the Coromandel Coast and Mrs. Hastings, then Mme. Imhoff, took Mrs. Dare under her protection while Hastings stood godfather to her infant son. In 1777 Captain Farmer of the *Seahorse*, writing to Mrs. Hastings, sends his compliments to 'Mrs. Imhoff and Mrs. Dair,' among others. With her usual fondness for match-making, Mrs. Hastings arranged a marriage between the young widow and a Captain Showers. Three sons were born of the marriage, one of whom was also named Hastings, which must have caused confusion to the family. The union was unhappy and the husband and wife separated, after 'shocking recriminations,' which seem to have been conducted regardless of listeners, since Toone says that he heard them. Colonel Showers had a pension, but refused his wife any share in it, since she had left him of her own accord. She subsisted on what her sons could send her, until one of them, an officer of great promise, was killed in an attack on a Gurkha stronghold in the Nepaul war. Hence her sorrowful letters, alternately lamenting 'my Angle [*sic*] Dear Departed Son, Captain Charles Lionel Showers,' denouncing the unkindness of her husband, who has refused all communication with her, and begging that the Court of Directors may be importuned to grant her a pension. Hastings sent her money for her immediate necessities and wrote to Toone about the pension. Toone had little hope of success, but he laid the case before the Directors, and they granted her £70 a year, to begin from the day of her son's death. There are letters of extreme gratitude from Mrs. Showers and from her son, Hastings Dare, who was in command of a battalion in India." *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, pp. 315-6. To the Captain C. L. Showers, the son of this marriage mentioned here, there is a tablet in St. John's Church, bearing the following inscription :—

Consecrated to the Memory of

CHARLES LIONEL SHOWERS, Esq.,

who in the assaults of the fortified heights of Malown, on the

15th of April 1815, led one of the principal columns to a separate attack, in the most gallant style,

1779. November 21.—Mr. James Taylor and Miss Elizabeth Wood.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1779. December 5.—Jacob Harvey, Invalid, and Elizabeth Lizarda, singlewoman.

1779. December 10.—Mr. William Haverkam, Junior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Anna Catherine Hadermack of Serampore.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

REGISTER OF MARRIAGES IN THE OUT-SETTLEMENTS.

1769. December 5.—Mr. Francis Gladwin¹³⁷ and Miss Ann Proctor were married at Patna by Simeon Droz, Esq.

and gloriously fell at its head, just when in personal conflict
he had with his own hand slain the chief of the enemy.

In the various duties of life, as a man, soldier, and a Christian,
the eminent qualities of the amiable and lamented Showers conspicuously shone.

Firm in honour, sincere in friendship, ardent in his professional duties,
and humble and fervent in those of a higher nature ;

The prominent features of his character were benevolence, zeal and piety,
and his deserved portion, was the love, the esteem, and the respect of all who knew him.

To record their keen sense of his worth and their heartfelt concern for his loss

the Officers of the 19th Regiment have caused this monument to be
erected in affectionate remembrance of their valued and regretted comrade. .Etat 35.

Etc., etc., etc.

¹³⁷ Francis Gladwin, Buckland records : " Was in the Bengal Army : encouraged by Warren Hastings in Oriental literature : translated a portion of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, 1783-6 : Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal : published a *History of Hindustan*, 1788 : A number of translations of Persian writers, including the *Gulistān* : A Persian-Hindustani-English Dictionary, 1809 : was first Professor of Persian at the College of Fort William, 1801 : Collector of Customs at Patna, 1802 : Commissary resident at Patna, 1808 : he died about 1813." From R. C. Sterndale's *Historical Account of the Collectorate of Calcutta*, we learn that Gladwin was Collector of Calcutta from November 1788 to May 1789, and from 1793 to 1799. " This gentleman," writes Sterndale, " was in office for a longer period than any of his predecessors or immediate successors with the exception of Mr. Charles Trower. In 1794 he was appointed to collect the first house-tax imposed in Calcutta, although this arrangement does not appear to have been satisfactory to the Magistrates as appears from a letter from that body to the Secretary to the Government, dated Police Office, 20th October 1808, in which they protest against the transfer of the collection from themselves to the Collector of the 24-Pergunnahs on the ground that in the late Collector's time when the collections were in his charge the annual deficiency was sicca Rs. 53,482. From a letter, 31st January 1800, I find that ' Mr. Gladwin was appointed by the *Justices in Sessions*, and from the nature of his appointment he is accountable to the *Justices in Sessions* only. The Collector was allowed 10 per cent. on the collections, or an estimated sum of Rs. 15,000, as cost of collections, which, as the amount paid to the native collectors for the ground rent was only 3 per cent. gave him a handsome addition to his official salary. Mr. Francis Gladwin published in 1784, *The Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser*. He was an Oriental scholar of some eminence. His principal works was an English translation of the *Ulfas Adwiyet* of Nouleddin Mahomed Abdul Hai Shirazy, Physician to Shah Jehan ; The *Persian Moonshceh*, a Dictionary of Mahomedan Law, a System of Revenue Accounts, An English and Persian Vocabulary, etc., etc. He does not appear to have been a writer, he apparently came down in the service although eventually recovering his position, for on the 14th June 1790 I find him a candidate for

1770. June 10.—Mr. Thomas Pattle¹³⁸ and Miss Sarah Hasleby were married at Cossimbazar by William Aldersey, Esq.

1771. October 28.—Mr. William Hartley, Lieutenant in the Company's Service, and Miss Eleanor Christian Moinakin were married at Moradbaug ye 28th Day of October 1771 by Joseph Baines, Chaplain.

1774. January 10.—Mr. Peter Moore,¹³⁹ Writer in ye Company's Service, and Miss Sarah Webb were married at Patna by the Rev. Mr. Wm. Smith.

1774. April 8.—At Chunapore, Thomas Milton Gravely,¹⁴⁰ Captain in ye Company's Service, and Miss Anna Maria Carter.

1775. April 10.—Mr. John Murray and Miss Anne Macleod were married at Moorshedabad by the Rev. Mr. Smith.

1776. June 15.—Robert Hunter,¹⁴¹ Esq., and Mrs. Catherine Mills, widow, were married at Dacca on the 15th day of June 1776 by Charles William Boughton Rous, Esq., there being no clergyman to be had. Copy and duplicate sent to England, 30th April 1781.

1777. January 12.—At Patna, Henry Richardson, Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Frances Northall.

1778. June 14th.—Mr. Charles Purling,¹⁴² Senior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Elizabeth Hasleby, spinster, were married

the office of Clerk to the Court of Requests. In his application he states that he is 'a very old servant of the Company, and whose situation and misfortune give him a reasonable claim to the assistance of his brother servants, and whose qualifications, from his knowledge of the country languages and his acquaintance with the manners and customs of the natives renders him, he flatters himself equal to the discharge of the office he solicits. In J. J. Hyde's and Chambers' Notes, July 23, 1787, appears the record of a case Charles Johnstone *versus* Edmond Morris, being an action against the Sheriff of Calcutta for a false return of *nulla bona* to a writ of *fi-fa* at the suit of the plaintiff against Francis Gladwin for a debt of sicca Rs. 10,689; Rs. 189 costs recovered against the said Francis Gladwin. Gladwin being in insolvent circumstances had assigned all his property to Major Scott in trust for all his creditors. Chambers J. gave no opinion because he was nominally a creditor, though not really estimated, being a trustee under Mr. Gladwin's marriage settlement.' In a footnote, Mr. Sterndale adds: "Mr. Gladwin's history is somewhat obscure, for in spite of above I find an indenture of release executed by him in December 1805 in which he is described as "Francis Gladwin, Esq., residing at Patna, in the Province of Behar, Senior Merchant in the Civil Service of the United Company of their Bengal Establishment.

¹³⁸ Thomas Pattle. For the Pattle Family, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. I.

¹³⁹ See Original Consultations, 1769, 7th August, No. 1, and 8th August, No. 1, Peter Moore succeeded Goodlad as Collector at Rungpore 1786. Left for Europe in 1786.

¹⁴⁰ T. M. Gravely. Lieutenant, October 17, 1764; Captain, May 26, 1767. He commanded a battalion at the battle of Corah (10th June, 1776), and died of his wounds. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 426-29.

¹⁴¹ Robert Hunter, Contractor to the Army. There were two Doctors, father and son, of this name. See foot-note No. 34.

¹⁴² Charles Purling. Succeeded John Gross, the first recorded Collector at Rungpore, in 1771-3. Acting Chief at Dacca, 1773. Re-appointed to Rungpore, 1777. See Glazier: *Report on the District*

by Mr. Pattie at Bauleah, there being no person at or near the place, in Holy Orders. A copy and certificate sent to England per *Belmont and Neptune*, 30th April 1781.

1781. March 5th.—Mr. George Templar, Writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Joan Paul, spinster, were married by Mr. Palk at Cossimbazar, there being no person at or near the place in Holy Orders.

1782. July 19th.—Daniel Roach,¹⁴³ Esq., and Martha Mayo, spinster, were married at Rungpore by Mr. Goodlad,¹⁴⁴ Collector of Rungpore, no person in Holy Orders being at or near the place.

1786. June 17th.—George Monco, Esq., Major in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Elizabeth Donaldson were married at Moraudbaug near Murshidabad by the Rev. William Goddard, Chaplain of the 4th Brigade, as certified by him six months after.

T. BLANSHARD,

Chaplain of the Presidency.

N.B.—In regard to certain famous persons, *e.g.*, Warren Hastings, and his second wife, Kiernander, Barwell,¹⁴⁵ Grand, etc., etc., no notes have been appended, the knowable facts being so easily within the reader's reach. A few further notes will be given in our next issue: *e.g.*, Simeon Droze, Martin Yorke, Henchman, Samuel Peat, Samuel Hampton, R. Maddison, R. Hunter, etc., etc. The Editor would be glad to receive further information from descendants and others. To complete this inquiry an exhaustive study of the Records

of Rungpore. In 1779 he went to Oudh: in 1781 was on the Board of Commissioners for the management of the Dutch E. I. Co.'s possessions at Chinsurah.

The *Bengal Obituary* gives his epitaph (South Park Street, Burial Ground):—

CHARLES PURLING, ESQ.,
late Senior Merchant in the service of
the Honorable E. India Company,
Obt. January 31, 1791. .Et 44.

¹⁴³ Daniel Rausch (Roach or Raush). One of the earliest known European Adventurers in the Assam Valley. He is sometimes called a German and sometimes a Dane. He had resided chiefly at Goalpara since 1766 or 1768. He was murdered by the Durang Raja in 1795. See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. III, pp. 368-69.

¹⁴⁴ Goodlad (Richard). Many of his letters and an account of his administration will be found in Glazier's *Report on the District of Rungpore*. Goodlad, who had been assistant at Rungpore, became Collector, on Bogle's death in 1781; in 1784 he was succeeded by Peter Moore. The *Bengal Obituary* gives an inscription (South Park Street) to a Mrs. Martha Goodlad, who departed this life 21st March, 1785, aged twenty-three."

¹⁴⁵ It will be noted that North Naylor married a Miss Anne Bertie in 1778 and Captain Delafield married a Miss Mary Bertie in 1772. Before leaving for England, Barwell instructed his agents: "The house now occupied by Mr. Robert Sanderson in Calcutta, fronting the Esplanade with the fixt furniture, beds, chairs, couches and tables, I appropriate for the space of two years to the use of Miss Diana Bertie..... This small testimony of gratitude and esteem flowing from a sense of her attention to my wife and my infant children.

of the old Mayor's Court will be necessary as well as research at the India Office. The present publication is merely a preliminary essay. The Editor's best thanks are due in the first instance, to two Chaplains of St. John's Church—the Rev. Canon Cole and the Rev. S. Scott. He would also in this connection acknowledge the great courtesy received from the Rev. Fr. A. Neut, S.J., Vicar of the R.C. Cathedral, Murgihatta, and from Bro. A. Rome, S.J., of the latter Church, as well as from Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., who has very kindly glanced through the proof. These Records have been published with the express approval of the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Andrew Fraser.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

(Assisted by E. WALTER MADGE).



The Tragedy of the "Anglia."



NEARLY seventeen years have passed since Calcutta was startled by the tragic story of the wreck of the *Anglia*. Most of us are mere birds of passage in this country, and our time in India is short. So, although the story of the wreck made a considerable sensation at the time, it is pretty well forgotten now. Turning out a number of old letters and papers recently I came across a letter, describing the event, written on the 26th August 1892, immediately after my return to Calcutta, while the scenes through which I had just passed were still quite fresh in my memory. It occurred to me that an account, by a survivor, of one of the most sensational shipwrecks which have taken place in the Hughli, might be of interest as a contribution to *Bengal: Past and Present*.

The *Anglia* was a screw steamer of 3,287 tons, built in 1888, belonging to the Anchor Line. She reached Calcutta on the 17th August 1892, and sailed again for England on 24th August. She had never been in the East before, having previously been employed on the Genoa-New Orleans-England run, carrying Italian emigrants to the United States. She left early in the morning, and by about 3-30 P.M. was in sight of Khijri, or Kedgerree, when, just as she was turning round below Jellingham sands, preparatory to anchoring for the night, she touched the ground, and, within a few seconds, capsized.

About one-third of those on board were lost, not a large proportion, considering the suddenness and completeness of the accident. The peculiar horror of the wreck, however, consisted in the fact that several men were cut off in the forecastle, where they were well above water at the time of the occurrence, but whence they were unable to escape, and were slowly drowned as the tide came up, several hours later. To the best of my recollection, there were five men thus imprisoned, one of whom, a fireman named Young, managed to make his way through, under water, to the outside, and so escaped. The other four were unable to follow him, and the scuttle in the side of the ship was too small to let their bodies pass through, so they lost their lives. The tide was ebbing rapidly at the time, and one would naturally have expected that, as the tide fell, the vessel would stand higher out of water, but this was not the case. Apparently she must have been settling down into the sand below her about as rapidly as the tide fell.

The British India steamer *Goa*, with the Rangoon mail, was coming down the river some distance behind the *Anglia*, and picked up the survivors, who were sent to Calcutta from Sagar next day in the tug *Rescue*. When we

passed the wreck of the *Anglia* we saw that she had righted during the night, her two masts were visible, standing upright. One of them fell some months later, the other remained standing for six or eight years. The place of the wreck is now marked by a buoy.

There have been a good many similar cases of vessels capsizing in the Hughli, during the last twenty-five years. I can remember the British India steamers *Arcot* and *Maratha* and also the *City of Canterbury* coming to grief on or about the James and Mary sands, and the *Deepdale*, near Budge-Budge, I think. The danger appears to be only in going down the river with the tide, during the freshets, between July and September. When the river is in full flood, the stream during the ebb runs down like a millrace, the vessel has to go faster than the stream, to give her steerage way, then, if she touches, over she goes, the force of the current behind her rolling her over at once. If the same thing happened to a vessel coming up the river, or to one going down against the flood tide, she would probably get off without much harm done.

The Anchor Line were very unfortunate in 1892-93, losing three boats, all total wrecks, within six months. First the *Anglia* on 24th August 1892, in the Hughli. About two months later the *Roumania* left Liverpool for Bombay with a full complement of passengers, and a few days later was lost off Peniche, on the coast of Portugal, only two passengers and four of the crew being saved. And a few months later, in the early part of 1893, the *Trinacria*, a vessel on the England-Mediterranean-States run, was lost near Finisterre, on her way out, only the chief engineer and five of the crew escaping. During this time, I think, they had also two boats ashore in other parts of the world, which got off without serious damage. And it was not many years before that another Anchor liner, the *Utopia*, had been lost in Gibraltar Bay, having got foul of the ram of a battleship; she was crowded with Italian emigrants, and lost about 800 lives.

It was by the merest chance that I happened to be on board the *Anglia*. I took a passage Home by the *Dalmatia*, another boat of the same line. On coming down to Calcutta, I found that the *Anglia* was sailing a few days before the *Dalmatia*, and accordingly started in her. Coming back to Calcutta the day after the wreck, I went Home in the *Dalmatia* after all. About a month after leaving Calcutta, we called at Gibraltar, and there lay alongside the *Roumania*, which was then on her way Home, on her last voyage, though of course we did not know that, for she was lost on her next voyage out.

The pilot of the *Anglia*, Mr. S. R. Elson,* has long ago retired from the service, but is still, I believe, living in or near Calcutta. Mr. Cox has also

* Mr. Elson contributed to *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol II, an article on the great cyclone of 1864.—ED., B.: P. & P.

long since left the service. The leadsman, Mr. Curran, who was then a boy of less than a year's service, is now a master pilot.

The following is a list of those on board, taken from the Calcutta papers at the time :—

Escaped.—Captain Mitchell, Commander.

Mr. C. Tenquist, Chief Officer.

„ A. Shewan, Second „

„ J. Peters, Third „

J. Willimson, Carpenter.

J. Macfarlane, Boatswain.

Gourlay, A.-B.

Fraser „

Macdonald „

Sinclair „

Macmillan „

Macrae „

Buchanan „

Gillies „

W. Robertson, Cook.

D. Roberts, Chief Engineer.

H. Cameron, Third „

P. Cunningham, Fourth „

J. Bramleigh, Chief Fireman.

G. Hoskis, Fireman.

J. Nicolas „

T. Young, Trimmer.

J. Ferris „

G. Moore „

J. Caldwell „

D. McGinnis „

Mr. S. R. Elson, Pilot.

„ R. Curran, Leadsman.

„ H. Cox, Pilot Passenger.

„ D. G. Crawford „

„ Mackenzie „

One Deck Passenger.

Mr. Cox's servant.

Lost.—J. Gourlay, Second Engineer.

R. Dunn, Chief Steward.

J. Macfarlane, A.-B.

D. Macdonald „

I. Carbonari, Fireman.
 D. Cotter "
 W. Young "
 W. Elder "
 G. Rutherglen, Trimmer.
 A. Fitzpatrick "
 J. McIsaacs, Steward.
 C. Campbell "
 Two native saloon boys.
 Mr. Elson's servant.

All of the ship's complement were Scots, except the Chief Officer, who was a Swede, and one Italian fireman.

It was never known exactly where some of the men who were lost were at the time of the accident. The Second Engineer was on one of the gratings in the engine-room, and disappeared; every other man who was in the engine-room at the time escaped. This one would hardly have expected; but apparently, as the vessel lay after capsizing, part of the engine-room was above water, and they all came up there. Two men were in the stokehold at the time, we could hear them crying out for a few minutes, but there was no possibility of escape. Four at least were drowned in the forecabin. One A.-B., who was on the forecabin, helping to get the anchor ready, jumped overboard and was drowned. If he had stuck to the ship, he would have escaped. The Chief Steward was probably in his cabin, the saloon staff and Mr. Elson's servant were below. I saw the latter go down the companion a few minutes before the accident.

The letter describing the wreck is as follows :—

"On the morning of the 24th, Wednesday,* Booth† took me down in a steam launch to Garden Reach, and I went on board the *Anglia*. There was also another passenger, a man called Mackenzie from one of the Jute Mills. As Pilot we had Elson, who has the reputation of being the best man in the service, with a young chap called Curran as his Assistant or Leadsman, and another Pilot called Cox was going down to the pilot brigs as a passenger. All went well till we reached the bottom of the sandbank called the Jellingham Lump, about 12 miles above Sagar Lighthouse. Here Elson meant to anchor for the night, and the ship was just turning round to anchor with her head upstream, when she touched the bottom, and in ten seconds, or less, I should think, was down on her right side with her masts under water. At the time it happened I was standing in a passage on the upper deck, into which the companion ladder, leading down into the cabin or saloon, opens. Being a cargo boat she had no regular deck houses or smoking saloon. I had been talking to Cox most of the day. He sometimes used to play football in the old Black Watch Club. He had just brought up from his cabin some photos of the Sundarbans

* 24th August 1892.

† Mr. P. Booth, then Deputy Superintendent of the Jetties.

to show me, (one minute later and he would have been drowned in his cabin to a certainty,) and had just put the first into my hands, when she touched. Cox said 'She's aground, she'll right herself immediately.' But she heeled over further and further. When she got on her beam-ends, she seemed to hesitate for a second or so, as to whether she would go over or not, and then went right over on her side with her masts under water, from butt to top, and one side of her hull right out to the keel. A few minutes later the masts came out of water again, all but the first few feet above the deck. She was then on her side at about a right angle to what she should have been, so that the rigging from the bulwarks to the mast was quite flat and level. When she began to heel over more and more, Cox and I scrambled out of the passage on to the side of the deck, which we reached just about the time she was hesitating as to whether she would go over any further. After that we found ourselves standing on the side of the Captain's cabin, with the deck like a wall beside us. A railing across the part of the hurricane deck was standing up like a ladder by us. Cox called out "Up here sharp," and we went up it sharp, and found ourselves standing on the side of the ship. We were among the first there, and were there, I should think, within one minute from the time she struck. Men were pouring up on every side until there were 21 there in all.* Most of those below had no possible chance of escape, but there was one man shut up in the wheelhouse above the Captain's cabin who was got out after a little by two other men. She went over on her right side, with her left side up. The only places from which it would have been possible to save any one were the officers' cabins on the left, and, as it happened, they were all empty at the time. There were four poor fellows shut up in the forecabin, but we could do nothing for them, as we had no implements but an axe. With this some men managed to wrench of the brass work ring round the scuttle, but even then it was too small to let them through, and the poor fellows were drowned as the tide came up. The others must have been killed instantaneously at the first inrush of the water. Fifteen lives in all were lost, including the second engineer, chief steward, Elson's native servant, all the saloon waiters, who of course were below at the time, two sailors, and several firemen. One sailor jumped overboard, and was drowned. Elson, the captain, the first and second officers, were all on the bridge at the time,† which was the safest place they could have been in, the third officer also turned up from somewhere. There were several wonderful escapes. One was Curran, the leadsman, who was heaving the lead on the right side of the ship. When the ship came over on top of him, he jumped into the river as far as he could, and swam, getting into the rigging as the masts came over. Also the men in the engine room somehow were all washed up, though those who were in the stokehold were drowned. The other passenger, Mackenzie, was sitting on the upper side of the deck, and was up on the side before we were. When we got up there, that is those who escaped, the captain told us to get into the rigging, or remain near it in case she rolled over any further, or in case she rolled over on the other side. I sat up there for some time (it was really on a level with the side, not above the side at all), but after a while, seeing that the ship seemed firm enough, I came down again onto the side. The first and second officers' cabins were above water, and they managed to save a good deal of their kit, including a sextant and another instrument belonging to the chief officer.

"One of them also got out a box of cheroots, which he handed round. Somebody also got a lot of cork jackets from somewhere, and we each put one on.

* The number saved was 33 in all.

† The chief officer was on the forecabin, getting ready the anchor to let go.

"The B.I.S.S. *Goa*,* the mail to Rangoon, was coming down the river behind us, and when we got settled we saw her nearly abreast us. Some of the men began to wave jackets, etc., to her, but there was no use doing that, as they could not possibly help seeing us. Indeed some of the people on board saw her go over. The place where we were was near the middle of the river, but rather to the Midnapur side, about five miles from Kedgerree, and perhaps seven from the Sagar Island side. The *Goa* came down a long way to the east of us, and then came slowly round to the south-west. Then she went away to the south-east, and then dropped a couple of boats. Then she went and anchored to the south-west. When her boats came within a quarter of a mile of us Cox hailed them, and told them not to try to come alongside, but to anchor there and wait till slack water, which they did. We lay, I think, about N.N.E. by S.S.W., with the bow down. The river and the tide were running like a millrace round both sides of the *Anglia*, and boiling in and around the masts and rigging. Through this a boat would have to come. Then after a while the chief officer and some men managed to cut away one of the *Anglia's* boats, and it floated, though it had not any rudder. Three of the boats were smashed up underneath her when she went over; the others were swung downwards towards the masts and funnel. Cox offered to take this boat out to communicate with the *Goa*, to try and get some tools, to cut out the men shut up in the forecastle. The second officer took charge of the boat. Cox, Mackenzie and I, went with him, also Curran, who was pulling an oar, and about eight men. We drifted and rowed down to one of the *Goa's* boats. Then they took their anchor, and attached it to the *Anglia's* boat, while the *Goa's* boat took us to the *Goa*.

"We were very hospitably received on board the *Goa*, which we reached about 6-30 P.M. The captain, first and third officers, carpenter, and another man, remained till eight, when they had to leave too. All those who got on to the side of the ship were saved, and none of them seriously hurt.

"The *Goa* went as far as Sagar Island next morning. They intended to put us on board the *Guide*, a Government steamer, which is stationed there, but she was not there, having gone to the Pilot Brigs at the Sandheads. There was a tug called the *Rescue* lying at anchor there and we were all transferred to her. To the mere landsman that was the most funking experience of the whole lot, though I suppose there was really not the least danger. First we had to get down a ropeladder on the side of the *Goa*, and then to get into the boat, which was jumping up and down like a parched pea on a shovel; for the sea, though calm enough for a big vessel, was pretty rough for a small boat. The steamers were only rolling about, but the little boats were jumping like corks. Then we had to get on board the *Rescue* in the same way, watching an opportunity to grab the ladder and jump into it as the boat came up to it, also being careful that you did not get onto the ladder too soon, and have the boat bumping up against you from behind. The *Rescue* got up steam and started for Calcutta at about 10 A.M. on Thursday, the 25th August. Elson, who was piloting the *Anglia*, has the reputation of being the best pilot on the river, he has been thirty-one years on the river and never lost a vessel before. As we passed the wreck of the *Anglia* we lay by for a bit. Elson and Cox, with the captains of the *Anglia* and *Rescue*, took her bearings exactly. It was a little south of the sandbank called the Jellingham Lump, which must have extended down the river further than any one knew. We reached Calcutta about 5 P.M."

D. G. C.

* The *Goa* was, I think, lost a few years ago in the Kukri Mukri islands on the south-east of Backergunge district, when she was on the Calcutta-Chittagong run.

Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse.

PART III.—(Continued.)



HE Army was at Gurdore on the 25th ; at Catta Wabloor on the 26th ; Pombalo on the 27th. On the 29th, the Army was at Neasabrum Choultry ; on the 30th at Ramanca Chuter ; on the 31st at Chicaracottah ; on the 1st of August the Army reached Pulicat, and on the 3rd Colonel Pearse joined the grand army under Sir Eyre Coote.

The Army was at Poonamalee on the 7th and at St. Thomas's Mount on the 9th of August. At this place Colonel Pearse laid before Sir Eyre Coote the voluminous proceedings of the Court Martial upon Captain Sandford, with the following letter :—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B.,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

“SIR,

“I have the honour to lay before you the proceedings of a General Court Martial, held by my order, for the trial of Captain Sandford, of the 24th regiment ; and for your information I think it necessary to give you a short history of the rise of the present trial.

“The sickness that seized the troops at Ganjam, dismayed the sepoys very much, and just after we left Itchapore, so great a desertion prevailed, as made me apprehensive that the arms of the whole regiments would be left on the ground ; and it so truly alarmed me as to create the utmost uneasiness in my mind. Disputes between the Majors and Captains had also prevailed, not only in the 24th regiment, but in others also. And as I conceived that disunion amongst the Officers must operate to increase desertion, and on the contrary that cordiality would check it, I called on all Officers to unite to inquire the cause of the desertion—to endeavour to calm the minds of the troops—and remove dissatisfaction if possible. My order was far from producing the effects intended. Major Kilpatrick ordered the Native Officers to his tent to make inquiries, and though the Captains sent them, they took the inquiry so much amiss, that in the end it occasioned this investigation which, by the proceedings you will find, was carried to lengths, unusual, as well as unexpected. At last I was obliged to call the regiment before me and the Majors of the Army, to ascertain whether they had any causes of complaint against Major Kilpatrick whilst he commanded them ; the result was, that so far from a single complaint being made, many spoke in his praise, for his kindness to them and his fatherly care. This, from what had passed, was quite unexpected, for it was really believed that a general complaint would have been made, so confidently were the discontent reported through the camp.

"The investigation set on foot, you will find by the proceedings, tended directly to cause Major Kilpatrick of bad conduct in his battalion. Something of the kind, it appears, was begun before we crossed the Subanreeca, though the result was not brought forward, as it certainly ought to have been, if real zeal for the service had been the cause of it. But I must inform you, that the disputes began between the Major and Captain Scott, before the Captain had obtained command of his battalion, and whilst the regiment was only forming, to put him in possession of his part of it; this is also mentioned in the proceedings

"These are some of the general outlines, though other causes conspired to create ill-will between them.

"From the complaints preferred to me on account of the Majors making the inquiry before mentioned, I plainly perceived, that it was attempted to set their authority aside in their own regiments, and to establish an authority in the Captains, that would have placed the Majors in a situation not to have been endured. To remedy it, I gave orders that Havildars should be appointed by the Majors, in regimental orders; naicks, by the Captains, with the approbation of the Majors and the recommendation of the Subalterns who commanded companies. An idea prevailed that Major Kilpatrick had suggested these regulations, but it was not so. I knew before I left the presidency, that orders to that effect were to be issued; and I found that by your own regulations, Havildars were to be presented to the Commanding Officer of sepoy corps for approbation; and that Sir Robert Barker had made such regulations long before, which had been enforced by Colonel Parker, and had drawn on him a general odium, for reasons which I need not point out. However, the idea that Major Kilpatrick was the instigator of the orders I gave, inflamed the minds of not only the Captains of the 24th regiment, but even most of the rest, and produced a remonstrance against my order, which was transmitted to the Presidency. Since that event, (though I cannot say since it arrived,) orders still stronger than any I gave have come down and been issued; which, not only confirmed the power I gave the Majors for the support of military subordination, but much greater; and such as, if enforced, must quash the bad practices that did prevail, which cost Major Grant his commission, and would probably affect many others, if investigations were to be set on foot, either by private or public authority.

"The sentence passed would not have been satisfactory to me, if I had had the approval; because I conceive it is at variance with the evidence, and know the causes and manner of making the investigation which gave rise to the latter charge: for though it does not appear that Captain Sandford gave the orders alleged with his own voice, yet they were given by his agent, in a language which the agent understood, though the persons to whom he afterwards gave the orders did not understand them. However, doubtless the Court were acquainted with circumstances which I am not, and therefore I do not mean to arraign their judgment, though I cannot say I should have approved of it.

"From the whole proceedings I may positively say, that such ill-will prevails between the Officers and the Major, that it is not proper they should remain together in the same corps; and therefore I recommend it to your consideration, whether it will not be proper to make removals. I enclose you also three crimes against Native officers of that regiment, which will, I think, show that removals are necessary, as there is some appearance of ill-will towards them; and Turab Khan has been once tried and acquitted, on the subject of the disputes that prevail in the regiment.

"Far am I from approving what Major Kilpatrick did in his battalion, but nevertheless, I cannot approve of stirring up complaints, or seeking for them; because recrimination may sometimes be necessary in defence. There was not just cause for recrimination, until the

disputes which had begun on points of mere discipline, made the Commanding Officer of a regiment proceed to put an Officer under his command into arrest; and because I could not obtain from Captain Sandford any report of the Investigation he had made, though I ordered him to report it; and because the investigation was totally foreign to the charge just given in against Captain Sandford, by Major Kilpatrick.

"I must, before I conclude, assure you I most heartily lament that such a trial has happened. When I was appointed to the command I hold, I made a particular request to have Captain Sandford sent with the detachment, to afford me some opportunity of serving him, if possible, as an Officer whom I had taken notice of, so early as 1771; and who might always have commanded my whole interest when I had any; on the contrary, Major Kilpatrick was an Officer I knew very little of, not more than a slight acquaintance would afford."

"ST. THOMAS'S MOUNT, 9th August 1781."

"I am, etc.,

"(Sd). T. D. PEARSE."

"P.S.—I had not read Captain Sandford's defence when I wrote this letter: I now find it necessary to say something in answer to what he says concerning me:—And first, in answer to the observation, that on the fourth day a General Order was issued, forbidding the Officers of the 24th regiment from being present at the trial. It is very true there was such an order, for I found that every Officer would be called, either by the Crown or the prisoner, and it is not right that evidences should be present during the examination of other evidences, who are to answer to the same point. As Captain Sandford was required to give in his list of evidences, but declined doing so, and as I knew every Officer was concerned and had been taking an active part, I concluded they would all be necessary, and it turned out so; every one was called on, sworn, and gave evidence. He observes that he was deprived of assistance, by this order. After Captain Scott was examined Captain Sandford sent a letter, telling me he wanted Captain Scott's assistance, but he was deprived of it by my order. To which I replied, that if the Crown did not object to it he might attend to assist him; and he did attend and assisted him from that day or the next, and the other officers, after their examination remained in court.

"Captain Sandford says he wrote to me for a copy of Runjeet Sing's trial; that I refused to give him one; and that for want of it he was distressed in his defence. He did write, and I did decline giving the trial out of the office. I sent it to the Presidency, to the Judge Advocate's Office; after it was gone away, I was asked for it again; and I gave answer that it was gone; but if it had been in camp I should not have given it up, because I found that it was wanted only to raise a cavil about interpreters not being sworn. The fact was, the Judge Advocate took upon himself to translate it, and it was of no consequence whether it was correct or not, only as a record, and for my inspection: for the Court, and evidences, spoke in one common language, and in sepoy trials, the proceedings are never read over from the records; they record as they go along, in their own breasts, and judge from what they hear, and not from what is written down.

"Runjeet Sing was found guilty of the charge, and sentenced to be reduced to the ranks for two months. The next day Lieutenant Hughes (who commanded Captain Sandford's company), took Runjeet Sing for his orderly. When a man is taken for a fixed orderly, it is a mark of distinction in the corps; and it appeared so improper to distinguish a man who was suffering punishment for a crime he had committed that Major Kilpatrick forbid his being sent as an orderly to any Officer; and had he not done so, I would have commanded it, had it come to my knowledge officially. The act was contempt of all authority: mine, the Court's, the Major's, were all insulted by it; and instead of complaining

of this circumstance as an hardship, Captain Sandford ought to be very thankful that Lieutenant Hughes was not put into arrest for it.

"Captain Sandford speaks next about the mode of inquiry that I made. The orders are all recited, except the order informing the Army of the result, which I add for your information. It appeared to me the most simple mode, and the most likely to produce a general complaint; and when I came to a company where I knew of the demands on them, I observed to the Majors, here so many rupees are charged, of course we shall have complaints: still all were silent—we were all astonished—but the fact was, that they had never made complaints, until sent for and ordered to relate what stoppages had been made from them. Fear induced them to answer, but you see plainly from the proceedings, that they did not complain. The man who was said to have complained to Lieutenant Daw swore that he never did complain—that he was squabbling with the Subadar, Jurab Khan, about the sum that should be stopped—the officer overheard it—an emissary of Captain Sandford's explained it and Lieutenant Daw reported it to Captain Sandford, who brought the Subadar to trial. He was acquitted with great justice and impartiality, and could not have been found guilty without absolute perjury on the evidence produced; he was cleared to be sure, as soon as the trial was approved and published, as I trust is right and usual."

"I am, etc., etc.,

T. D. PEARSE."

When the Bengal troops joined the grand Army at St. Thomas's Mount, on the 3rd of August, Sir Eyre Coote ordered them to be dispersed amongst the several brigades; a proceeding which we trust may have originated from some other cause than that of a personal feeling, on the part of General Coote, unfriendly to Colonel Pearse. We are, however, unable to bring forward a single argument in justification of a measure, which, every person in the least acquainted with the extreme contrast in the habits, religious prejudices, and modes of life, existing between the Native soldiery of the two Presidencies, must pronounce, to say the least of it, to have been rash and ill-judged. The feelings of the Commandant of the Bengal troops were severely mortified by Sir Eyre Coote's orders. In a letter to Mr. Hastings, Colonel Pearse writes:—

"I have the *misfortune* to inform you, that from the day on which the detachment joined Sir Eyre Coote, he has totally deprived me of the command, and has refused to let me exercise any authority over those troops, who came with me from Bengal."

The bazaar establishments of the Bengal Army were also broken up; the cattle were allowed to stray without protection or restraint; and 400 bullocks, part of the supply brought by Colonel Pearse, were in one day carried off by Hyder's marauders. Captain Sandford was sentenced by the Court Martial to be reprimanded by Colonel Pearse, in the presence of Majors Blane and Wedderburn; and he attended at Colonel Pearse's tent, received the reprimand, and was released from arrest. Some idea of the thoughtless, overbearing, and insulting conduct of this officer may be formed, from the circumstances of his having proceeded (immediately upon his release from arrest) to his tent, put on his sword, and returning to

Colonel Pearse's, challenged him to fight a duel. For this serious crime, he was again tried by a Court Martial. The result does not appear in Colonel Pearses, papers.

A fatal duel took place at this time, from causes connected with the long continued dissensions between the Captains and Majors; and Major Kilpatrick died from a wound received in a duel with Captain Scott, by whom he had been challenged.

The siege of Arcot, as Colonel Pearse had supposed would be the case, was determined upon immediately on his arrival; but, as it was reported that Hyder had laid up a considerable supply of provisions and ammunition at Tripassore, an attack upon that place was in the first instance resolved upon. On the 16th of August the Army advanced from the Mount to Poona-mallee, and from thence to Tripassore on the following day, and the place surrendered to the British, after three days' siege on the very morning on which Hyder's army appeared on the surrounding heights. This wary leader finding that he was too late to save his fort, drew up his army in a very strong position a few miles off, on the very spot on which he had defeated Bailley.

Great as the wants of Sir Eyre Coote's army were, they found but a small supply of provision in Tripassore; and vain had been the repeated remonstrances of Colonel Pearse in this respect; for the Army advanced from St. Thomas's Mount with a supply, adequate to a few days' consumption only, and the cattle of the train was constantly harassed on foraging parties, to bring in the necessary supplies of provisions.

To give battle to the enemy seems to have been General Coote's sole consideration; and a want of co-operation in the principal officers and the subordinate departments of the Army, which may be attributed partly to the violent jealousies between the King's and Company's Officers, but above all to the neglect of all confidential communication with some of the leaders of his divisions, had nearly led to the most fatal consequences.

Early on the 27th, the Army was put in motion to attack the strong position which Hyder still maintained. The following truly interesting letter to Mr. Hastings, contains an account of the action of this day; from which it appears that good fortune alone preserved the British army from total destruction :—

TO MR. HASTINGS.

"DEAR SIR,

"Little did I think that I should ever sit down to write politics to you, and be an advocate for peace with Hyder. Yet I am now going to do it, and to submit my reasons; and if you do not like them, or the whole letter, tear it, and put it out of your sight for ever.

"First I must inform you, that three-fourths of the Nawab's possessions are mortgaged to individuals, who find the mortgage too lucrative for them to suffer the debt to be liquidated,

as long as they can possibly prevent it. Admit then that the remainder of the revenue is sufficient to pay the old man's expenses, for the support of himself and his religious establishment, and the revenues of the Carnatic vanish. Consequently, the only resources for carrying on this war, are to be drawn from the contributions from Bengal. What the produce of the former is, you know, and you of course can find how much you must inevitably furnish, to support a war, that is too *lucrative a job* to be ever ended, whilst it can be kept up.

"Next I must tell you that we have no Army. I am pretty certain I do not assert what I cannot prove, when I say we have not ten thousand fighting men in this Army, which is the only one likely to be employed against Hyder's *Host*. And it appears to be impossible to keep up this paltry number; for, though there are many causes of diminution of strength, such as death, slaughter, discontent for want of pay, and the inevitable consequence—desertion—yet there are not the means of raising recruits to supply our losses, for the *country is a desert*. The inhabitants are swept off; and if there were means of getting them, they would be raw and undisciplined, consequently not fit to oppose an enemy whose troops improve by fighting; and though discontented at the unavoidable fatigues of the war, and the precarious manner of obtaining their supplies, have not shown the signs of it by deserting, and if they do go off, it is not to strengthen our Army, for they do not come over to us.

"Next, I must tell you that if ever we can get money, and get men, it is not possible to subsist them; for, though you send provisions, we seem absolutely certain of not getting cattle to move them. We sallied forth in quest of adventures from the Mount; went and took Tripassore, and then were obliged to harass our cattle almost to death to get provisions into it to support the garrison. From thence we went and fought a battle; lost about 400 men; killed about as many of the enemy; and were forced to return in haste towards Madras, to get food to subsist upon. Here we are, not above 12 miles from it, and yet it is with the greatest difficulty we get a seer of rice a day for our troops, who seldom get dhol or ghee to make the rice a proper nourishment; and if dhol is sometimes given to the troops, it is in lieu of rice, so that it does not answer the end proposed—the troops are starving. There will be, or there are, 16 days' provisions for us (the troops only), at Poonamallee. The troops can carry 4, the cattle are to be loaded with 15. The bullocks left, (after taking a proper number for the train,) will be able to carry one and a half days' food for the fighting men, with which, and what we may pick up by the way, it may be possible to go as it is believed is intended, to relieve Vellore. Granting that Vellore is already relieved by Lang's exertions and good fortune (as report says), still all our cattle will be insufficient to bring in supplies during a siege, nor do I see how it is possible to afford guards to protect the necessary implements to carry it on. What prospect is there then of taking Arcot? Yet if we fail, we shall lose our credit and the few troops we have, and leave Hyder master of the Carnatic.

"I will next say positively, that our Chief is not equal to the task of carrying on the war; the confusion of his orders in the late action, plainly show he is past the time of military knowledge. I will give you a sketch of them, and then you shall judge for yourself.

"Hyder had taken his post on the ground on which he beat Bailley. It was extremely strong by nature, and he knew it. We, to our cost, were so totally ignorant of the ground, that it was with difficulty we got on at all. There was an avenue of trees, and when the fray began in front, we found a water-course on the eastern side of it. The left, which was part of the second line crossed, and got possession of a tope, where the men took post. The right was ordered to form on the west side, and consisted of three battalions; we formed obliquely, and then it was ordered to advance in line and turn the enemy's left. We moved for that purpose but Hyder artfully, I should have said skilfully, opened batteries on our right to draw our

attention that way:—Coote fell into the trap—we were ordered to move to the right, and so separated from our left wing and Owen, being hard pressed, sent to apprise him that he could not maintain his ground without a reinforcement. By this time we had advanced upon the west side of the avenue, and had crossed a water-course, over which the guns passed with extreme difficulty. The rear of my brigade, which composed the left of this line was not quite across when Coote came up.

“(N. B.—To make things clear—the army was marching, ready to form two lines; what would have been the front line, became the right wing; and what would have been the second, became the left wing where I commanded, but it was reinforced by four battalions of my brigade.)

“‘What are you doing Sir?’ says he, ‘Where are you going?’ I am following the rest of the line as I was ordered, Sir, it is all wrong, your left should be at the avenue, and you are far from it. Sir, I know it, I thought we ought to be there. I was going to form the right parallel to the avenue, to turn the guns of the battery which fires upon my rear, but the line moved on, and I was forced to follow it. But, Sir, you have troops enough to do it now—do it! I cannot, Sir; you see the last of my troops, and the line is still marching by the right. Shall I stop? No! Shall I march back? No! that will break up the line. Then, Sir, you must send orders to the right to return, or we shall be still further off. Sir, if we both talk together, neither will understand.’ I took off my hat and said, ‘I am all attention.’ He then began a long harangue, and told me it was his intention to form a line, and then advance in line to the front, and drive the enemy's left upon their right—this was the amount of it. To which I answered, ‘Well then, Sir, if you will only tell me what I am to do, I will execute it.’ Coote, instead of answering, turned his horse's head, rode towards the avenue, and I followed the line; for, as that was to advance upon the enemy, it was necessary to keep it compact. Orders had been given to advance as soon as the line was formed, (it was the original order, and had we done so, it all would have been well); but the firing on our right made him change his intention and caused all the subsequent confusion. The advance began before the orders to return to the left were received by Monro, and his troops were advancing through a very thick jungle, and were broken into tens in consequence. About this time Colonel Brown came up with a battalion from the second line, and Coote met Owen's messenger, who came with the advice that Owen could not maintain his post. Coote ordered that battalion to go to Owen; he then came up to me again. ‘Sir, all is wrong—we are abandoning our left, and leaving it and our baggage to be cut to pieces—send the 18 pounder—’. It went, but as I had no command there, and my brigade was moving on, I rode to the head of it. Orders then came which contradicted all that was doing. I was told Stuart was to command the left, having secured the baggage, and disposed of the forces of the second line. Orders were given for the line to fall back out of the jungle, and then to march back to the left, and I was sent with two battalions of my brigade to reinforce Owen. Stuart was with me—we were just gone, when he ordered two more battalions from my brigade to follow us. The messenger who came from Owen was to conduct us; we marched back along the western side of the avenue to the place where we had crossed the water-course, and with the utmost difficulty got over *(the day on which we marched back after the action, we found that within 300 yards of the place, the water-course ended)*, and then we entered the avenue to return to Owen. After I was gone, the line fell back, marched by the left, formed parallel to the avenue, passed it, fell back again by order, remained exposed to a terrible fire for above an hour, and then moved on again; advanced to a village, drove the enemy out, moved on, was stopped by a swamp

and exposed to a raking fire. Monro was so disgusted, he would not act. There was shelter for the troops a little in their rear, or in their front; but he would not act for himself, for Coote had affronted him; he had told him that *he was giving advice, when he should be doing his duty*. Coote had left the right to visit me on the left, where, finding I had got before Owen's post and made it useless, he first ordered the camp to be marked out, then to advance to reinforce Owen's troops, and then he left us and went to the right again. We went on, drove the enemy from the rising ground, and took possession of that which Hyder had occupied, which was full two miles from the avenue. The next morning we saw the right encamped about half a mile from the avenue, and about two miles from us. If the enemy had understood his business, as well as Hyder is supposed to do, he would have separated us for ever. He tried to draw me further from the right, by placing a gun, where he supposed I would advance to take it: if I had done so his right would have attacked me in front, and a large body of horse in the rear. I fortunately foresaw what would happen, and would not advance; on the contrary, another battalion having been sent to support Owen's post, I ordered it to join me, and was in the act of moving to the right, obliquely advancing on the enemy to recover the interval, when I received orders to do so. When I had assembled four battalions, and found that this force kept Hyder's main body at bay, I was about to move on, but first I sent to Owen to know if he could tell me where Coote was, and what was become of the right wing, for they had not advanced, and as this was between 3 and 4 o'clock, I surmised that they had retreated. I had not heard from or seen Coote for two hours; and then I reflected, if they had retreated, we must cover them, and that the post I held was not to be quitted, though a bold push from our quarter would have effected even that, if we were successful. My orders were *peremptory to support Owen's post at all events*, and if I had failed in my attempt (and four battalions could not promise much success against such a body as we saw, and such a train as fired upon us), death, by the articles of war, was my inevitable doom, and justly so; for in the case supposed, it would have been the cause of the destruction of the whole Army, therefore I halted. But when a fifth battalion came, I determined to seek the right which I could then do without abandoning Owen's post. I was in the act of doing so, when I received orders to the very effect, and heartily glad I was to find matters were not as I had supposed. But if I could have learnt how matters stood, when I had discretionary orders to do the best, not forgetting that the preservation of the post was of the last importance, Hyder might have been driven off the field in a much earlier part of the day.

"Do not infer vanity in me, for all this; I relate it to shew the confusion of orders which prevailed. You ought to know the dependence that is to be placed in him who conducts the war. The confusion was such, as could not, and did not escape the observation of everybody, and you may hear further accounts of it from others. But I am competent only to tell what I know; and, with it, what I did, is so blended, that I could not do one, without telling the other also. I would never have said half so much as I have, if the situation of our affairs did not demand that I should speak the whole truth.

"And now, having shewn that we have neither men, money, provisions, or a General fit to lead us, I shall proceed to the subject of this letter, which is to recommend peace—*Peace, on Hyder's own terms*, the grounds of which are, to acknowledge his son *Nawab of the Carnatic*: in which case, it is said, he offers to form an alliance with us, offensive and defensive; to pay the expenses of the war; to disband his French troops; and to assist us against the Pathan attacks. But before I proceed, let me just take a sketch of those who are to succeed Coote, in case of any accident; and if I may judge from all accounts and my own observations, he is seeking for one: for, after the

failure at Chilambram, he lay down in the verandah of a house for some hours, and would not speak ; here he was exposed to the whole fire of the enemy, had placed a candle in the house and lay before it—no persuasion could procure a word from him, or even induce him to put out the candle. In the late affair, wherever he could get into the midst of the fire, there he was : nay, he exposed himself to be taken, for he advanced before my line, close to some of the enemy and Owen, who saw his danger, cried out, ‘ General, for God’s sake, where are you going ? ’—Now the next to Coote is Monro, of whom I shall not say anything more.—Stuart is next to him, and many are the doubts here concerning him ; besides, he lost his leg in the late action. Stuart is to retire after this campaign at any rate.—Lord McLeod is next ; he is an old woman, not fit to command regiment.—Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford (*a Colonel in India*) is next. He is as good a soldier, as one who was never out of St. James’s Park can be ; but he is brave, cool, temperate ; and his abilities must be judged of hereafter.—Lang is next. He has shewn that he is a very good Officer, by his defence of Vellore ; but whether he is equal to the task of conducting an Army, under all the difficulties which ours has to encounter, I do not know.—Brathwaite is next to him, and he has done nothing to the southward ; so, as he could not do the little that was to be done there, we may suppose he is not altogether the best of the bunch.—The next is myself, and sorry I should be to say that I am fit for so arduous an undertaking.—Of all those I have mentioned, Crawford seems to be the least exceptionable, and some of the others may do for under parts ; but if he should fall, what is to become of India ? Now for ‘ the great article. It is notorious that a great part of our misfortunes in the Carnatic are owing to the Rajah’s bad government, by which he has alienated the minds of his troops and subjects : both fly to Hyder, who receives them eagerly ; with the former he fights his battles, by means of the latter he subsists his Army. When he can guard the lands, he lends money to carry on cultivation ; the Rajah’s subjects raised the grain which he has supported his Army upon. He repaired the pagoda at Tripassore ; the inhabitants draw comparisons : the conqueror helps us,—the old master oppresses us—the English, in their struggle to drive back the conqueror, devour us—and if they succeed, what are we to expect but more oppression to supply the coffers of our old master, to pay off the debts incurred by the war, and to pay miscreants who ought to be rewarded with halters ? If, to extricate the Nawab, you make him deliver up the mortgaged countries, complaints from the sufferers will raise all England into a flame ; and *more lawyers will come out, to ruin the last wreck that remains.* Our laws are so odious, that being tried, they will blast the last hope of reconciling the people to our Government. Suppose the Nawab dies ; a civil war will succeed, and the people will call in Hyder—hence a new war. In the meantime, let me consider our state at home. We are now at war with America, France, Spain, and Holland, and it is also said with Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. The French and Dutch will assuredly make an effort to get here ; they will form alliances with any who are our enemies—with any who will acknowledge Hyder’s son *Nawab of the Carnatic*. Hyder will join and renew the war, if we should make peace this instant on any terms except accepting of his son—but time presses.—Next spring we may expect that so great an alliance as there is against us, will be able to act, and force a passage to India, if they find us at war with Hyder. This destruction seems impending ; but should they find we have accepted Hyder’s son, and pensioned the useless Nawab, *the cause of our misfortunes*, they will be forced to return, and all their hopes of India must vanish for ever. For in that case we shall be sure of commanding the aid of that very Army which now oppresses us ; with which, and with our own recruited, we may fairly bid all defiance. A peace with Hyder secures Ceylon to us ; and that, as it must ruin the

Dutch, must force them into peace, and when once the confederacy begins to break, the rest will make terms as fast as they can. With Hyder's force, to aid us, the Maharattas must accept our own terms, and a Peishwah of our own choosing, will effectually shut out the French and Dutch. We must in the end remain masters of India. The present family, protected by us, will always be ready to make Jaffer's, if any contest should occur between us and the man accepted by us : and thus the future Nawabs will become Mobairicks and Asuph-ul-Dowlahs. Thus then we shall secure to Great Britain an empire in the East, which may enable them to bring shame on the confederacy in Europe. If we persist in war I fear the end must be in ruin : for, grant that we fight, and gain some battles more, and lose 2,000 of our men (we must conclude that desertion and sickness will carry off in the meantime as many more), we shall then be only 6,000 strong : and since 10,000 can but cope with 100,000, 6,000 can only hope to oppose 60,000 ; but Hyder has 100,000 at least. If he loses 10,000 men whilst we lose 4,000, he will have 90,000 left : that is, 60,000 to keep our 6,000 at bay, and 30,000 to carry on sieges, and so add to our distresses. All this may happen whether the French, or Dutch, or others, join or not ; and if they do so, I leave the sequel to your own judgment.

"I am ready enough to grant that this country has great resources ; but we cannot avail ourselves of them. The Nellore district might, under proper management, have furnished cattle and provisions for all our wants ; but it is under a *set of miscreants who hold it in mortgage*, and they are under the Nawab's officers, who strive all they can to prevent exertion. From their whole conduct, one would think the Nawab was in league with Hyder against us, for he has not shewn any exertion. The crops of the Carnatic must fail this year, and the little that is raised must fall into Hyder's hand : therefore we must get rice from the northward, of which I firmly believe that every seer, what with prime cost and carriage, will stand the government in one rupee—the half of the sum is assuredly within bounds. Only look at my accounts, there you will find that the expenses of maintaining the carriage cattle *exceeded* the amount collected for the grain from the troops ; and the price of the grain and the purchase money of those cattle must be added to this loss. Yet, these cattle and their drivers were *mustered* and paid at much lower wages than they now get. Here they are *never mustered* : the agents *charge what they please—their accounts are hardly looked at*. Never let anyone talk of the extravagance of the Bengal Establishment : we spend by hundreds of rupees ; they by thousands of pagodas. I brought 6,000 bullocks into Coote's camp ; they did not benefit by 4,000 for those who might have taken charge, refused to receive them : the followers of the camp stole them, and it was impossible to prevent it. The agents, sent at last to receive them, actually sold them before our faces. I only got ill-will for representing it. I told Coote repeatedly of it ; I added, it will always be so, until you have Officers in charge whom you can break for mismanagement. He agreed it was true : swore for half an hour, and then was persuaded it was all false. *They know how to soften him*.

"If then to carry on war, you drain Bengal to the last rupee, it will not save the Carnatic, but it will ruin your own Government. If you endeavour to supply recruits, or to increase the Army by reinforcements, first consider the consequences ; the deserters from us will meet them somewhere ; they will tell of our distresses ; they will magnify them ; they will tell the new-comers how little pains were taken after they joined to alleviate their distresses, and how much apparently was done to increase them ; if then they do not mutiny and refuse to advance, their numbers will dwindle away by desertion. I hate this subject, and nothing but the necessity of your knowing the ²truth, should prompt me to it ; nothing but the real love I bear you should force me to it. Do not think I wish

to return, and get out of this scene of trouble,—no ; I am determined to see it out. If I must perish be it so—you never should find me flinch from anything. I did care for my life when I left you—it is now of no consequence to me—the sooner I fall the better—my situation has made me wish it—still however, in the time of need I can forget, and only feel my miseries when I have nothing else to employ my mind. Now even while writing on the subject of our affairs, I am so engaged in the subject, that I hardly recollect I am miserable. Be your determination for war—I am ready to act my part in the battles—nay, in that I have some chance : I may perhaps in some way distinguish myself—I will if I can ; if for peace—I must return and sink into my former insignificance. A soldier therefore, according to a mere soldier's idea, ought to wish for war ; but I would readily suffer myself and urge everything for peace : not to ease my poor self, but my country. If you know of resources equal to the war, and such as will promise a glorious end of it, for God's sake attribute what I write to my ignorance of them. If you do not know everything I have written before ; take what you can learn from my letter, as it was meant for your information.

"The Nawab by his mismanagement, has rendered himself unfit to govern any longer ; and whenever that happens, in any State, *it ought to revert to first principles*. In plain terms, *there ought to be a revolution* ; and he that will promise greater advantages to the State, ought to be put at the head of it. Hyder's son seems to promise these advantages here ; if we accept him, we may get time to breathe, and time to get strength to reject him again, if he should not answer our purposes. Causim Alli and Jaffier* exchanged places upon the same principles, and Bengal became our's for ever. I who write this cannot do it from any hopes of gain ; I am too low in the list to be ever thought of : therefore at least I have one merit that I write disinterestedly. From what I see, we appear to be engaged in what force of arms cannot relieve us from ; and therefore I recommend *address* ; and this is ever a soldier's maxim, as well as a politician's. Let me remove the idea of giving Hyder too great power. He has it now : one son settled here will be separated, and there is another for Mysore ; but this would be all : therefore the same power that raises one, may also support the other, and establish rivals for power and benefit by the disunion. This prospect is not very far distant. Age must effect it in a few years ; for, though Hyder had raised himself to a throne, he has not to immortality.

"Do not let me suffer in your opinion for what I write, for though there should not be sound policy in it, there is sound honesty ; and that I hope will always entitle me to claim the privilege of subscribing myself

"Dear Sir,

"Your faithful servant,

"T. D. P."

"VELOOTE, 12th September 1781"

in thunder, lightning, rain, and the croaking of myriads of frogs."

"P.S.—Coote took the approval of Sandford's trial on himself, alleging that it was his right as King's Commander-in-Chief, so that it will go to England, and I cannot send it to you. Major Kilpatrick died of the wounds he received from Captain Scott in a duel, occasioned by the disputes in the regiment originally. Varas now commands the regiment. Coote peremptorily refused to let me exercise the command over the Bengal troops, agreeably to the instructions of the Board, so that I only know by common report, they are deserting very fast, but the 13th regiment is in my brigade, and it has lost near 100

* Alluding to the revolution effected by Mr. Vansittart, in 1760, when Meer Jaffier, the first Nawab of Bengal, was dethroned, and Meer Cassim, his son-in-law, set up.

men lately ; and a plan was laid for the whole to go off, but it was discovered in time. All this is owing to the little pains taken to support them, and could have been prevented if they had remained together in a body by means of the bazaar they had, and a little management on the part of the Government and Commander-in-Chief, to have enabled me to get dhol and ghee for their use."

On the 18th of September Colonel Pearse dates the following letter, the interest and value of which as a document will be felt, we are assured, by many of our readers.

TO MR. HASTINGS.

"DEAR SIR,

"Since my last Monro and McLeod* have decamped, and are going home. Thus two of the individuals mentioned in my letter are disposed of ; and Braithwaite went against a little fort, shewed that he was not the best of the group, was defeated, wounded, and is returned to Tanjore. Stuart, if not dead, is next to it. Thus by chances unforeseen and unexpected, I am become the next of the Company's Officers to Coote, in the acting Army, and command the left wing in my own right. By this Dickson is again become my Aid-de-camp, and Humphreys, my Secretary. But now a more serious difficulty engages me than before. Crawford, I told you as a King's Lieutenant-Colonel, with a Colonel's Brevet, by virtue of which, he commands *while Coote is alive* the right wing ; but it appears that the Company have at last resolved to support their own Officers, and have therefore empowered their Governor and Council to appoint their senior Officer, a Brigadier-General, to prevent their Army from being commanded by a King's Colonel, who may accidentally serve here. If therefore Stuart should die, Lang will succeed to that rank ; but how matters are to be regulated, if any accident should happen to Coote, before Lang joins, I am at a loss to determine ; for certainly the case will admit of dispute. If I yield to Crawford, I shall yield the right of the Company's Officers ; if I contest the point he produces his King's commission. The order is very publicly known, but it is not published. Crawford knows it, and he was going home, but Coote prevailed on him to stay until we return from the trip now undertaken ; and thus he has created a *stumblingblock*, which, if anything should happen to him, might be productive of the worst consequences to the service. Coote ought to have removed it, but his ill-will to me made the thought of my being second in command insupportable. Braithwaite went out a Major to Bencoolen in 1779, from thence he came to the Coast army, got in and has risen by the accidents of the service, to be a Colonel senior to me. I do not complain of this on his account, but Horne, who returned a Captain Lieutenant of Artillery, the year that I came out as a Major, has claimed rank above Braithwaite, and has got removed to the Infantry, as a Colonel above Braithwaite ; so, if he should arrive, he also will be above me, which is hardly bearable, for he was not a Major until many years after I was a Lieutenant-Colonel, and as the Coast Officers have made such a clamour about their rank, I think the Bengal officers have an equal right to cry out. Crawford, I said, was brave, cool, and temperate ; but I said also that he was without experience. He seems to know this, for he actually asked to be excused the tour of Field Officer of the day alleging, that he was so young a soldier, and totally unacquainted with the duty. Since that, however, he has had the experience of a

* Sir Hector Monro and Lord McLeod.

campaign, is now second in command here, and would, I make no doubt, soon be able to acquit himself of all his duties with propriety ; so that as I acknowledge his abilities, I the more regret that I am in a possible situation to dispute his authority, though I earnestly hope that this will not be necessary. We are now going to Vellore, but by what route I am not informed. If by the straight road, we shall have fighting enough, and I wish that our successes may be equal to it; if by the hills, we shall have labour enough; and if we are not fortunate, we may perhaps return to starve at Madras, for there are only 3,000 bags of rice left there. I am, therefore, still of the same opinion, of the immediate necessity of peace, as I was when I wrote to you before; and Coote told me yesterday so lamentable a tale of the situation of finances here, and with you, that I was *horror struck*.

"Let me now say a few words in favour of my volunteers who were promoted to the rank of Ensigns on the Bengal Establishment. You know that they turned out to go on service to the Coast, and to act as company of volunteers against the enemy. They never asked for, or wished to hasten their promotion by so doing; but to show that they were worthy of the favour which had been shown them, by their zeal or the service, and desire to learn their duties in the best school, which is a camp, against an enemy. Soon after they arrived here, many of them were put into the Madras Army as Ensigns, not at their request, nor by any interest which they made, but because this Establishment wanted Officers. They served with cheerfulness, not expecting that by so doing it would turn to their disadvantage; yet so it has proved: before I left the Midnapore Provinces, they were all made Ensigns on the Bengal Establishment; the very thing they all hoped for when they embarked with Coote. They therefore expected to be permitted to accept the commissions that were thus granted them: it was refused; they prayed to be allowed to avail themselves of those commissions when the service should be over: this was also refused. It was said their appointments to commissions on the Coast, was prior to those given in the Bengal army; and therefore that they should not be allowed to return, *but must and should remain on the Coast*. Now, dear Sir, this is a very great hardship. They were originally appointed volunteers on the Bengal Establishment; they were actually my own company; they proceeded as my company and it was declared so in orders. Madras had no right therefore to take them by force, and make them Officers on this Establishment, though this Government might, with all propriety, appoint them to do duty as Ensigns with their troops until you demanded them; or entirely, if you give them up, and the young men acquiesced. All they ask is to be kept on the Bengal list, or to be permitted to take up their rank in the Bengal army, when their services on the Coast can be dispensed with. In my heart I wish that this may be allowed for most of them are very good Officers, and I have not heard one of them spoken ill of. To me it appears to be a great hardship also on the Madras cadets, to keep these lads here; for by so doing, the cadets, *now coming out in swarms*, are kept out of commissions; and your Establishment which has not been supplied with so many cadets, is kept thin of Officers. This is a *Cootism*; who can do anything, but be good tempered. He is in a most furious rage about the new Establishment, but God forbid that his raging should overturn it. The only objections which I have heard him urge, are that Stibbert proposed it, and you approved it without consulting him; and he alleges that it creates confusion—that the other Establishments want the same and that it is illegal, because not authorized by the Court of Directors that the King's Officers will not allow of it, and will not serve—that he has orders from the King not to suffer his Officers to be superseded. *This is the true reason*. He cannot bear to see a Company's Officer get forward, and can readily and gravely assert, that it is right, that young Mr. Squagg, who from a barber's

apprentice, became an Ensign in 1779, embarked for India under McLeod in 1780, was promoted to be Lieutenant in the beginning of that year, or on the passage, and by the chapter of accidents, has got to be the oldest Lieutenant before the end of 1781, ought in consequence of the death of a Captain of the 73rd, and one of his own appointment, to succeed; and thus to take rank at once, above all the Company's Captains, who have had the command of battalions these ten years. He began in this strain the other day before me; and I answered him, 'that I thought it would be right, if the King's Officers should rank above us, were we to meet on service in Europe or America, but that we ought to rank above them in India; because from our services here we were fitter to command; that having ears, eyes, and understanding, as well as the King's Officers, we extracted from their system of discipline what was adaptable to our state, and so formed one, which differed from theirs in points, in which the nature of the country, the manners, and religion, showed us that it was necessary.'—He replied, 'Sir, there shall be none but King's officers; it is notorious that the King's troops did every thing and saved the Carnatic, and had it not been for them, you would not have had a foot of land in India.' I replied, 'Sir, remember that I am a King's Officer and in His pay, and now I must tell you, that though you saved the Carnatic with the King's troops last war, you will save it by the Company's troops *this time*, and with their Officers; for it was not a Company's officer brought us thus low, nor was it the 73rd regiment that drove Hyder away three days ago.' 'Sir,' said Coote, 'I do not mean to say that the Company's troops or officers are deficient in point of abilities or courage; God forbid that I should; I know the contrary: but I mean that there should be no Company's forces in the political question of their right; and Officers might learn, their duty, with King's commissions.'—This, and a good deal more, passed on the subject when, in consequence of my asking to command the troops which I brought from Bengal, he instantly fired, flew at the Board and Stibbert, and we wrangled stoutly until supper came in, during which meal he hardly spoke a word to me. I had this all over again another day, (*except the King's Officers' part,*) upon repeating my request which had been unanswered before. Unfortunately I read the instructions which I had received, and he flew in such a rage that I thought he would have beaten the table to pieces. We have been on pretty good terms since; but I found that I was not to command, and that every attempt to get the command of the Bengal troops, would not only be in vain, but might create a flame, *not proper to light up in a camp where there is not anything to roast.* Here I leave off to go and eat his venison, as he has invited me to dinner; and now, though I have a great deal more to say, I must stop, for we are to march at 4 o'clock; so God preserve you!"

"I am,

"Dear Sir,

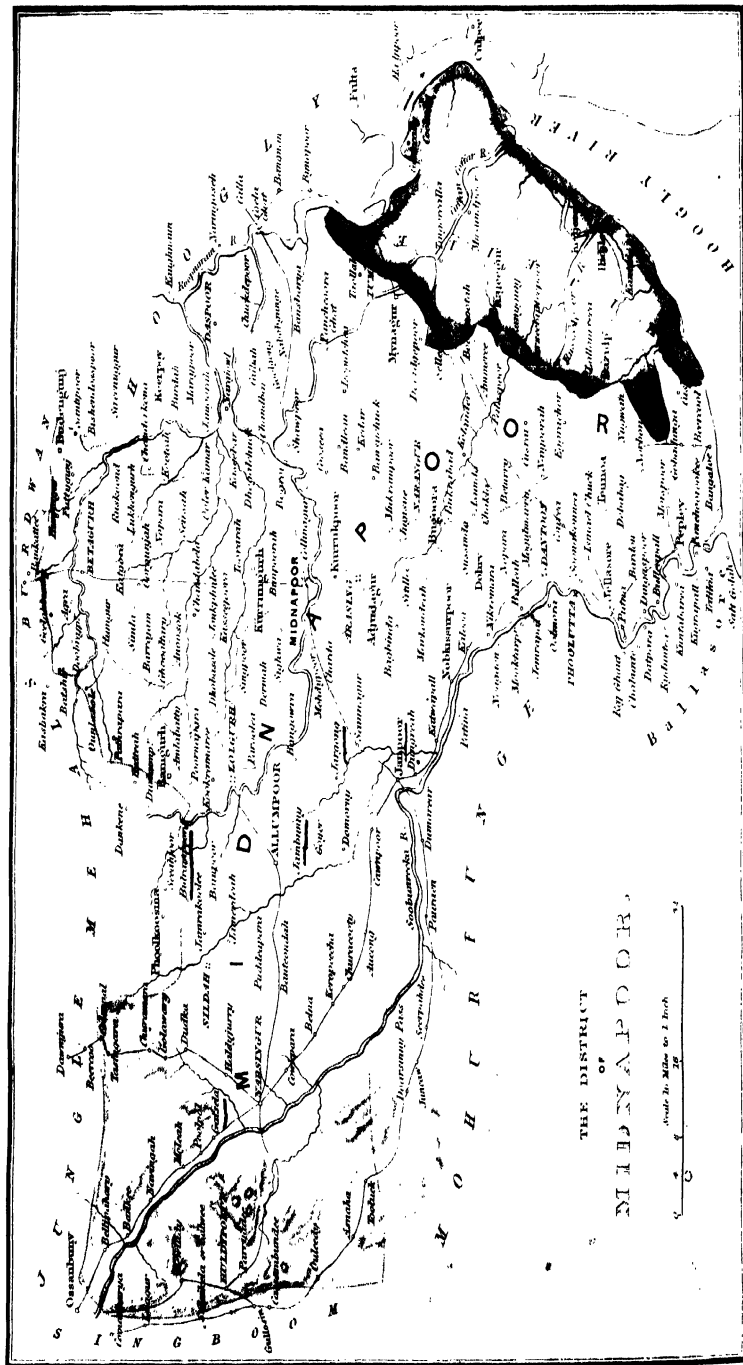
"Your faithful servant,

"T. D. PEARSE."

"VELOOTE, 18th September 1781."

(To be continued.)





Bengal Mufussil Records.

No. I. MIDNAPORE (MILITARY) II.

40.

TO G. VANSITTART.

GATSEELA
10th April, 1767.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to send you by along with the bearer 1,000 Adad Rupees being the Chait month's Chasana from those zemindars who have already settled, 500 of which sum is cash and 500 bonds of these zemindars who are along the bonds I inclose, as also a Bengal bond. If by this acctt. you should imagine that I advance with too little reserve to Govindram, I must take this opportunity of acquainting you that, by his own acctt. of matters, which you have no reason to doubt, he is very ill used by Keteran Chan, who neither writes a Sir... nor sends any money, so there is only the alternatives of making them starve . . . or supplying in them. The money goes from the Pargana of Bulrampore.

I am [etc.]
J. FERGUSSON.

41.

TO G. VANSITTART.

UNDATED :
[Received 13th April, 1767.]

SIR,

I must begin this address by requesting that you will not take amiss my having delayed putting in execution your order which was not provlsional, and I am the rather induced to hope this as sentiments of pure compassion induced me so to do.

The old Zemindar was only this day tolerably provided, if I may say so much, in servants and a dooley to carry him off. Such was the hatred which all his servants entertained for him, that they no sooner had got out of his reach, than they determined never to return, and it was with some difficulty that I got new ones for him.

I, this afternoon, send him off guarded by two companies, commanded by my sergeant, and he will be delivered over to the Company at Chandeepta, the 11th current. As this letter goes by the hands of the Sergeant to be delivered to the . . . badar, I shall say nothing regarding the situation in which matters are here, as by a letter I shall write this evening you'll be informed much sooner. With regard,

I am [etc.],
J. FERGUSSON.

P.S.—Along with the Detachment, I send two of those who suffered most that they may soon recover of their wounds. Shall I presume to request that you'll make my apology to the Captain for neglecting to acquaint him of this circumstance?

42.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :
13th April, 1767.

SIR,

Enclosed I send you copies of the several papers which take any notice of the subject which will more effectually explain the matters than anything I could say. They, this moment, arrived and our pike of Chatina, who says that his Zemindar has got an army 1,000 strong, and that they will all die sooner than become a part of the Patchaet Phousdary. I wait not to write on any other subject, but to add that I am ready, with your orders, to defend Patchaet against the Nabob and all his forces—not say an upstart Phousdar. With regards.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient,
J. FERGUSSON.

43.

TO G. VANSITTART.

COAKPARA CAMP :
18th April, 1767.

SIR,

Having settled matters with zemindar Jugernut Dol, as I wrote you some days ago, and the detachment with Kum Sing Dol being returned to Coakpara, which is in the Janpore route, I yesterday set out for the same place, but on our march, from the badness of the road, met with the misfortune to break with one of our tumbril wheels, to finish to repair the Tumbriel, in such a manner as to carry to Janpore, will take five days, according to the calculation of the head carpenter.

I am [etc.],
J. FERGUSSON.

44.

TO G. VANSITTART.

CAMP NEAR MOHIALI :
20th April, 1767.

SIR,

I am now to acknowledge your favors of the 13th and 16th. The allowance of 30 Rs. *per* month settled on the old Zemindar before he left the Fort, and I was told that a half month's allowance had been sent along with him, and proper number of servants were ordered, but on my more particularly enquiring, in consequence of the Sergeant's report, on his return, I found that they had been deficient in both points, on which I ordered the remainder of the allowance for one month, and the required servants to be sent him directly ; the money I send by his bearers.

I am very glad that the sum at present stipulated for the Company satisfies your, for it is my opinion that not only this Pargana, but also all the others, will at a short period yield a considerable increase of revenue in certain circumstances, which I dare say you

are well acquainted with, but which, notwithstanding, I shall as a point of duty take a proper opportunity of placing before you.

As to the sending of Vakeels to Midnapore, the generality have two great objections even to giving an understanding person along with me—nay, after long on insisting upon it I was obliged to give it up. Their objection is the expense of maintaining one, and they also alledge that collecting a *taskees* is so new a thing amongst them that it employs all their understanding people as yet to settle it equebly or collect it.

But, Sir, if these objections were to be got over, which with a little verbal violence I don't doubt but might be done, I, whom you have permitted to speak my sentiments without reserve, have an objection to their being sent, while I remain here, as being conscious that the moment they go my influence here vanishes, as they will hope (such is the nature of the people) to upset a superior and orders I may judge necessary to give, as they imagine I do all of myself, without consulting any other person. If also I were immediately to return to Midnapore with my detachment when the rest of the Tanna is settled, and to bring Vakeel from each pargana, I am persuaded that the greater part of them would run away in the rainy season, and that we would not receive a rupee more revenue untill there was a contract made with a force in the cold weather.

If, on the other hand, it is permitted me to sit down in a central place (as was Mr. Graham's intentions) with my force for one rains, and by this means give me a more immediate opportunity of making myself thoroughly acquainted with the respective parganas, of putting an entire stop to all robbery and theft among themselves, and infusing into them a spirit of traffick and merchandizing, I make no doubt of considerably increasing next year's revenue, and of bringing with me a set of Vakeels so sufficiently convinced of the benefit of being attached to the Company, that they will use the utmost means to remain so. If this matter should appear to you in another light, you have only to hint your opinion, and I shall go all lengths to have your desire complied with.

The perwana, which you sent inclosed, I shall send off to-day, in the manner you direct that he may have the more time to judge of the matter, and your other instructions on that subject I shall pay the same obedience to.

The *Tambil* being repair'd, I this day set out from Choakpara, the weather being hot. At moonlight I march in the night time. At present, notwithstanding of which, I have several sick of fevers, continued and intermitting, and also the jaundice, which I find is owing to the shocking practice the sepoys have (some I mean) of smoking ganja and opium, especially in the warm weather. I request the favor that you would order Mr. Gardner to send a good supply of medicines adapted to these diseases, and I shall do my best in the prescribing way.

I am [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

45.

TO G. VANSITTART.

NO DATE.

[Received 24th April, 1767.]

SIR,

I have received yours of the 18th on my march hither, which prevented me immediately answering it. Permit me to thank you for the plain and unreserved manner in which you correct me, on the head of my letters. Be assured, Sir, that I look on it as

one of the highest pieces of friendship to take the trouble to point out to me any part of my conduct which is amiss, as I by that means shall not fall into the error again.

I have made particular inquiry about large trees this day. There are on the banks of the river several, but they are of that kind where a great number of branches form one trunk, and, of course, not solid. If any of solid wood be found I shall not fail to acquaint you. As to the gomastah and the subject of trade, I shall be able to satisfy you fully on that head on my return to Balrampore, as I have directed the several zemindars with whom I have settled to make a list of what superfluities they have in their country as also what wants, and to send it to me at the Tana.

The Morebunge's Vakiel and other mounities are arrived. The zemindar of Balabria pays his attendance twice-a-day ; and this day, also came the Naib of Chaiser, the zemindar, Pertab Sing Bez Cumar being dead, and the pergunah in the hands of his widow. There are three more, to all of which I have wrote that is they have not as yet time to arrive, being at a further distance.

We yesterday had a very long march of 8 coss, there being no halting place on the way till we came near the Tana. I shall do myself the pleasure of writing you as soon as I have settled with any of these people, I have at present entered on the subject with the Raja's people, but come to no settlement.

I yesterday forwarded a Vakeel of those two Rajahs of Patechaet to Mr. Graham. According to your opinion, I delayed doing it as I had no certain intelligence of his being arrived until his letter which came two days ago.

I am [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

46.

TO G. VANSITTART.

JANEPORE :

28th April, 1767.

SIR,

I have received both your favours of the 22nd and 24th, the same day.

As Setaram's people were far from being essentially necessary at any period, except in the article of show, I immediately, on receipt of yours, sent off Govindram and all the people, except 50 and 15 horse. In answer to your latter favour, I must beg leave to express my obligations to you for the fair and explicit manner in which you explain your sentiments. You convict and overcome me by reason and argument, whereas another would have told me that I did not see the matter in a right light. Now I shall proceed on that business, not only as being my duty and because I am ordered, but also because I am convinced of the propriety and expediency of it. You may, therefore, be assured, Sir, no reasons, frivolous or not, shall induce me to defer having Vakeels from the respective zemindars ready to attend you on your return, taking care to advise you, from time to time, if any obstacle of moment should occur in that affair.

There is already a Collector at Bulrampore, who was made when I set out on the Gatseela Expedition, and of which I advised Mr. Graham. I shall also, according to your order, settle one here, as soon as I have got them all to agree to an equal revenue, for none of them have yet appeared or by any means pretend to act upon a hostile plan, but are rather restive in settling. However, I am pretty well assured that they will come to

my terms, and in this belief have discharged the bullocks, which carried the Company's rice, etc., which I sold in the bysar, but the expense of carrying it three months exceeds the value of the whole considerably, and I should be glad of your instructions in what manner I am to draw and make out that account, or whether I shall send them to Midnapore, there to receive their pay, and myself account for all the rice and money.

My best friend and patron, Mr. Graham (excuse me this much, Sir, for I cannot help writing in this manner of one to whom I am so bound) has transmitted me orders to settle the Raipore, etc., districts, and tho' he has wrote me that he advised you, yet I esteem it a point of duty to acquaint you also. When he wrote, he presumed that the place of residence of the detachment after the country was settled would be Bulrampore, which I look on in every respect as the most eligible place as being central, situated on a river, and the usual seat of the chiefs who subdued the jungles. I also on this occasion transmit you a return of my detachment.

I am with regard [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

47.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :

29th May, 1769.

SIR,

Herewith you will receive the treasure for Bysac month in which there is some proportion from every Zemindar in both Tannas. But it will be proper first to acquaint you what settlement I made with the different Zemindars of the Janepore Tanna which I have not as yet mentioned to you :—

| | | | | Dosm Rs. |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------|
| Belabria | ... | ... | ... | 800 |
| Chaira. Part of Khein | ... | ... | ... | 200 |
| Barazeet. Part of do. | ... | ... | ... | 400 |
| Kearchund | ... | ... | ... | 85-8 |
| Dekparhee | ... | ... | ... | 100 |

This was all that could be obtained with reason, considering the lights that we had into the affair, but I have taken such measures as shall make me go on a certain footing, if they should be refused (refused).

Enclosed is the accts. in large in Bengala. So I hope a short sketch will suffice from me.

| | | | | Adad Rs. |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------|
| In cash | ... | ... | ... | 3,150 |
| Corturam's Bond for ... | ... | ... | ... | 25 |

The *tuskees kistbundeas* and Ranie Wousul accts. are all enclosed.

In the Ranie's time, the Bulrampore Collector's wages were 40 Dosm Rs. per month. He has two more to assist him : allow this the Janepore do's Wages were 30, also there is a sheraf who requires 10 Rs. I should be glad of your orders on these heads. The Mamulet people, who are along with me, desire wages from the Company, while they are here. I should be glad to know regarding them also, as I should wish to favour them, having found them useful.

I, notwithstanding of my illness, order'd the Patna traders to be stopt on the receipt of your's.

I also take this opportunity of sending you a monthly return, and beg leave to request cloathing for 1 surang, 1 tindal, 24 lascars, who are with me, and have not received last year's, as has not the artillery sergeant, they being in tatters and clamorous, the rains coming on.

I have great reason to be satisfied on the score of my recovery, as tho' I have the fever the whole day, it incommodes me little, I having a tolerable appetite and moderate sleep. Permit me to offer you a fine Cyrus* which the Doctor tells me is the only animal you care for, otherwise I should have sent some others.

With regard, I am [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

48.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :

4th June, 1767.

SIR,

On making further particular inquiries on the subject of effectually stopping the salt merchants from going into the Morattoe country, I understand that many of them pretend to go to Anundpore, and follow that road, but afterwards take an opportunity of moving away to the other country. On this it occurred to me that the most effectual manner of stopping them would be on their return by seizing their salt, provided you esteemed it a proper measure to grant those merchants that pass through the jungles and buy their salt from the Compy. a perwana signifying that they did so. This I lay before you to judge of, for I am far from knowing whether it is consistent or not. But since our jungle Zemindars have stopt any from going thro' their country, I have certain information that far of the greatest part of the Patna salt-merchants pass to the Morattoe country without our bounds by the country of Patcombe and Sing Boioom which (according to my intelligence) are not within the bounds of either of our provinces. In one of these resided Jugurnut Dol, before he was sent for to Gatseela, and, if I may believe one of his principal people, both these Zemrs, Vakiels (having come to Gatseela to congratulate the new Raja) expressed a desire that they might be put on the footing with their neighbours in these jungles, as they were constantly oppressed by a neighbour who made a practice and trade of plundering and carrying off their effects. He also added that the two could give a revenue of 6,000 Rs. at least.

This I thought it my duty to acquaint you of in consequence of my last genl. orders and instructions. Inclosed I send a particular account of the rice, etc., which we brought with us; the amount when sold being 243-5-3 Rs. The pay of 62 bullocks for March being 279 Rs., there is a balance of 35-10-9 Rs. due wch. shall be recd. in any manner you shall order.

I propose, with your consent, to encourage a gange here in order to make the Tanna flourish, as it did formerly.

With regard, I am [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

* Cyrus=Saras. The great gray crane, *Grus Antigona*.

49.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :

6th June, 1767.

SIR,

I yesterday received your favour of the 3rd. Having a copy of Mr. Graham's extract with me, I did not fail to animadvert on these three heads as they occurred. With regard to the Taluc, it had been incorporated with the purgas. of Sankacoolea and Ramgur many years, and I acquainted Mr. Graham of it, on which he wrote me that it would be a good plea for augmenting another season.

The Perga Aurangabad is incorporate with Mhan Boioon, but how long I can't say. When I settled with the Mhan Boioon Zemindar he said it was Aurg. Purga. that enabled him to pay anything, for that Mhan Boioon never had any *jumma*: however, other zemindars induced me to put up with that settlement, which I make no doubt you saw in my letter on that subject to Mr. Graham. The sundry villages are, I am pretty certainly informed, incorporate with the 4 Purgas. in the Morbge. Raja's possession, though his people did not acknowledge it. I have, however, given such instructions to the tannidars and other gommasts who reside in the Tannas and principal purgas. as will make me clear on these heads and also an adequate judge of the real value of these purgas. In a few months I shall settle the servants in the Tannas, according to your order.

I expect the Vakiels daily, as several days ago, I sent peons to the diffnt. quarters to hasten them, as they seem'd dilatory. As soon as the Raipore and Mamulet is over, which is now on the carpet, I shall dismiss the revenue people, as the Tanna servants, I dare say, will do all the business afterwards.

With regard, I am [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

P.S.—Inclosed I send an indent of powder for the gun and some other articles wanted. To-day I send some lascars to take charge of them and bullocks to carry them.—J. F.

50.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :

7th June, 1767.

SIR,

I did myself the pleasure to advise you yesterday, in answer to yours of the 3rd, as also some days before, on the subject of effectually stopping any traders into the Morattoo country, as also of two neighbouring Zemindaries. My reason for writing to-day is, in the 1st place, to acquaint you that about 200 Morattoo salt-traders' bullocks loaded with salt are stopt and wait your orders. Their being stopt was owing to the fidelity of Jugurnut Dol, who by no means would allow them to pass thro' his country, by which means they were obliged to attempt the Bulrampore Road, and were stopt by the Jatbunie Zemindar's people till they received my orders. They were no sooner stopt than they sent people to me offering money and endeavouring to pass by that means, they being 8 coss distant when stopt. I have not got an exact account of the number and other circumstances, but I have order'd them to be brought to Bulrampore, where they shall remain till your orders arrive.

My 2nd reason for writing is to enclose a Bengal letter sent from the Patchaet Phousdar to the Chatinah Zemindar, and to acquaint you that in the Zemindar's letter to

me he earnestly begs to be relieved from the threats, etc., of the Phousdar, as his people entirely neglect the country, and dwell in the jungles, so that the purguna must go to ruin; for, he adds, that he was always considered in the Midnapore Province, and that he had rather quit his country and starve than become a vassel of Patchaet, whereas he'll give all the country affords here, and eat rice and drink water with contentment. My peons confirm the former part of his letter regarding the country being deserted.

With regard [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

51.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE:

21st June, 1767.

SIR,

My fever, wch. oblidged me to address you for several days in the Persian language, having now left me, I take the first opportunity of acquainting you, and I request that anything in these letters which may seem to border too much on freedom may be forgiven, particularly my applying to you for a Dhye* for my own distress and her's, together operating on me at the same time, and she being void of help, after several fruitless attempts to get one by means of sircars, etc., I thought it best to apply to you, as your orders would have an immediate effect.

I being very weak, request 5 days' respite, in which time I hope to be able to bring up any business that is behind.

I always am with regard [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

I have this moment received the inclos'd papers.

52.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE:

23rd June, 1767.

SIR,

I have received your favour of the 20th. As my fever has again left me, and as the weather is cooled by means of the rains, I hope, it will be unnecessary to visit Midnapore. I am, however, oblidged to you for your invitation.

The Vakeiels shall be dispatched to-morrow or next day at furthest, I having sent a peremptory order to those who are not as yet arrived.

I remain with regard [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

53.

TO FRANCIS SYKES, ESQ.,

Murshidabad.

MIDNAPORE:

25th June, 1767.

DR. SIR,

At the beginning of this year Mr. Graham, in obedience to the Governor's orders, sent a detachment from hence to reduce to subjection several pergunnas situated to the west-

* Dhye=Medicine. It is clear that Fergusson was accompanied by his wife.

ward of this chucklaa which have been included in its limits, but which since the Morattoe troubles, during Aliverdy Cawn's Government, have in a great measure supported themselves in a strategic independence. Chatna, one of these pergunnas, submitted Febry. last, and its Revenue has ever since been regularly collected month by month; but a few days ago I recd. a complaint from the Zemindar that he had been summoned by the Phousdar of Patchaet to settle his revenue with him. I immediately wrote to the Phousdar to forbear, and acquainted him that the pergunna belongs to this chucklaa. In answer he has informed me that he has your orders for settling it, and that he shall obey them, and he has at the same time sent a perwana to the Zemindar threatening him with force in case of his refusal to submit. I have written him in reply that I shall with you whether the pergunna is to belong to Murshidabad or Midnapore, and that in the meanwhile, if any of his troops enter the pergunna, they shall be treated as enemies, and I have accordingly directed Lieut. Fergusson to send a party of sepoys if necessary to secure from the invasion of the Phousdar's rabble and I request you will enjoin the Phousdar to desist from his pretensions. Upwards of 150 years ago when 'Toroo Mull was sent by the Court of Delhi to take an account of these subahs, Chatna pergunna was included in the subah of Orissa and chucklaa of Midnapore as the *taxeem-jun* papers form'd by him enince, and tho' the Patchaet Phousdar may have taken advantage of the Morattoe troubles to extort some money from it (which, however, I believe he did not), it could hardly be deemed a sufficient plea to justify his now laying claim to it. If you will examine the papers at Moorshedabad during Sujah Cawn's Government, or any time before the Morattoe troubles they we will, I believe, afford you further proof that Chatna belongs to Orissa not to Bengal.

I am, etc.

[G. VANSITTART].

54.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :

27th June, 1767.

SIR,

This day the 4 last Vakiels having arrived, to-morrow they set out, as also does the treasure for Jeet. I have sent off your perwanas with a chit from myself, notwithstanding that some few Vakiels were here 8 days waiting for the rest. I have also sent off the perwana for the Patchaet Phousdar, and to-morrow a subidaar with his company marches for Chatinah, to whom I have explained the orders received from you. The distracted state of Galanah* has prevented them from sending a Vakiel, but I daresay, when they are render'd secure by the arrival of our troops, they will send one.

Mr. Peiarie's memorandum, tho' I did not answer it, was paid immediate attention to, for I sent to all the Zemindars mentioned. The Sankacoolea Zemindar acknowledged that he had acted in the manner expressed, and immediately set the Pykara at liberty. Told that he had given a writing which he would punctually fulfil and act in such a manner as in future there should be no grounds of offence nor complaint. The Seldah Zemindar absolutely denied that any other person whatsoever had come into his purgana, to trade, and that neither he nor his people were under any engagements except to me, and these are

* Word doubtful.

trifling. In Colianpore I have no dealings, and in Jargong only for a little cotton, so that in these places they use my name without just grounds. I hope you will excuse me if I don't send a return this month, there being no occurrences at all except the detachmt. mention'd above, and one Classic* ran away whose place I have supplied. I shall write a particular letter on the subject of salt of which I have taken a great many more bullocks.

With regard I remain [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

55.

BULRAMPORE :

27th June, 1767.

SIR,

| | |
|---|---------------|
| In charge of the bearer is the Jeet month's treasure, being in Adad | ... Rs. 3,740 |
| Acct. Balance | ... „ 39 |
| Total paid | ... Rs. 3,779 |

As also Vakiels from the purgunas except Chatinah and Dekparhee.

I am [etc].

JOHN FERGUSSON.

56.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :

1st July, 1767.

SIR,

I wrote you some time ago that I had taken several of the salt smugglers. I have also since taken several. The whole may amount to twelve, and 600 bullocks. Far the greater part of these were a good deal stunned to find us so well acquainted with [the] price of this counterband salt, tho' they took pains to represent it much more. However on the proposal of 160 Rs. per 100 Md. being made, most of them give up their salt at the 50 without hesitation, requesting that they might be allowed the *hasilac* which was taken from them on the road. This occasion'd a new inquiry, and I found that the generality of the Zemindars did not pay the due regard to the salt perwana sent them, and that some were lead into this by the connivance of ye Bulrampore Tannidar who instructed the Beparis to say that the salt was mine. This produced a scrutiny into the Tannidar's conduct, by which it appears that he had encouraged and made a perquisite of the trade during his whole residence here, for which I immediately dismissed him. Likewise in order to secure the Zemindars from being guilty of conniving at the escape of these people, I have taken a written promise from them that they will pay 15 Rs. for every bullock loaded with all salt that escapes their vigilance, as also for every bullock which is loaded with salt within the Company's Purganas in their charge, this last being intended against the Morebunge Raja. I also, for security's sake, have placed punes at avenues where they will be aptly and easily stopt for this service. There will be 5 punes necessary independent out of the revenue ones, according to your former order. All this Beparies are either residents of this jungle itself or of Bisnapore. Of the jungle ones I have endeavoured to procure a list,

* Classic = Khalasi. Probably means here a tent pitcher.

and, if you deem any punishment necessary, or such steps to be taken in order to prevent their future misdemeanour, if you'll please to advise me.

Of all those as yet settled with, the additional price has only been given by one who had 74 Mds : 20 : srs. I should be glad of your instructions how I am to keep this salt acctt., how remit the money, and under what heads : as I believe that all the salt that falls into my hands will sell, as that intended for the supply of the neighbourhood has been taken especially part. Your opinion (may I say approbation) of the steps I have taken, and your further orders on that subject will greatly oblige one who is, with regard, Sir, [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

57.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :

4th July, 1767.

SIR,

A Vakiel has arrived here some days for the Zemindars of Belabria with two complaints, one against one Gossei, a Bamjn, who resides near the Tanna Janpore, having the charge of a large and much-frequented pagoda. It is an old affair but was examined and adjudged in favour of the plainant by Mr. Burdett. The complaint regards three villages detain'd by violence from him, thro' the countenance of the Morebunge Raja, and without which he says he can't pay the revenue established to the Company. The other is against the zemindar of Jargong, who last year plundered his country and carried off 100 head of cattle.

I have sent a perwana to each to appear, and would be glad of your orders whether to inquire into the affair here or send them to Midnapore. Genl. instructions regulating my conduct on the head of complaints would give me great satisfaction, whether to take it upon me to examine into them, or immediately despatch the parties to Midnapore.

I am [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

58.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :

6th July, 1767.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 3rd. I should, on the first news of this strange conduct of his, have set out with some sepoys to have nipt it in the bud, were it not my maxim to conduct myself in such a manner as to leave little doubt of success as human certainty will admitt off, and I accordingly take my measures as tho' I had an experienced and valorous enemy to deal with. Now, if they have only the smallest reflection to break down the bridges on the ditch and defend the rampart with tolerable vigour, they will give us sufficient work on our hands. As, therefore, you might not have approved of that step, and if anything senister had happened, I could not have forgiven my own rashness. These being the reasons which induced me not to proceed immediately from thence, I was induced to give my opinion as I did, and from being pretty certain that during the interval I could

weaken him by detaching his chawars, nor could he form any alliances of consequence, all the other petty fellows being so political that if one join'd him his neighbour from that very circumstance would become his declared enemy. Besides, I did not doubt but it might have been agreeable to you and I intended mentioning it to have first reduced the Gatsela Raja and afterwards to have proceeded to reduce those destructive independent chawars or any Zemindars who pretend to protect them, by which means I would leave the jungles quiet : otherwise no sooner if the force withdrawn hence than you are hourly plagued with some complaint of robbery and stealth, whence the Zemindars will take occasion to delay and put off their payments. I well remember'd at the same time your having mentioned my return in Novr. wch. was not compatible with this plan.

However your remarks have induced me to alter my measures. I have order'd chawars from Colianpore, Sankacoola and Rangar as being most to be depended on, also from Jatbunie and Jambunie, who are enemies to the Gatsela chawars. I have wrote the Raja that I am coming to free him from the tyranny of this formidable chewar and have ordered him to send a Vakiel to meet me at the entrance into the pargana—for several purposes. I am at present busy in putting my Companies amunition and bysar in good order, as there are only three villages on the route of any consequence, whence, if he acts like his uncle, he'll remove everything that occasions my paying particular attention to the latter.

My mondie and several of the beparies are gone to Midnapore and have not returned on my chits.

Believe me always [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

N.B.—Your letters never arrive here sooner than the third day after they are wrote per dock. I thought it proper to order them to proceed without delay.—j. F.

59.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :

12th July, 1767.

SIR,

I have received your favor of the 8th, and shall in every respect act according to the tenor of the contents.

I have advised the Subidar at Chatinah that he will soon be recalled.

Per dock I send my journal which I had been compleating ever since you wrote for it, my illness having occasioned a gap, which I have filled up. I am afraid you'll find it very incorrect as it is only what I intended as a scrawl of one.

I beg that you would use what freedom with it your please in regard of rejecting any part that may be superfluous or unnecessary.

I am [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

60.

TO G. VANSITTART.

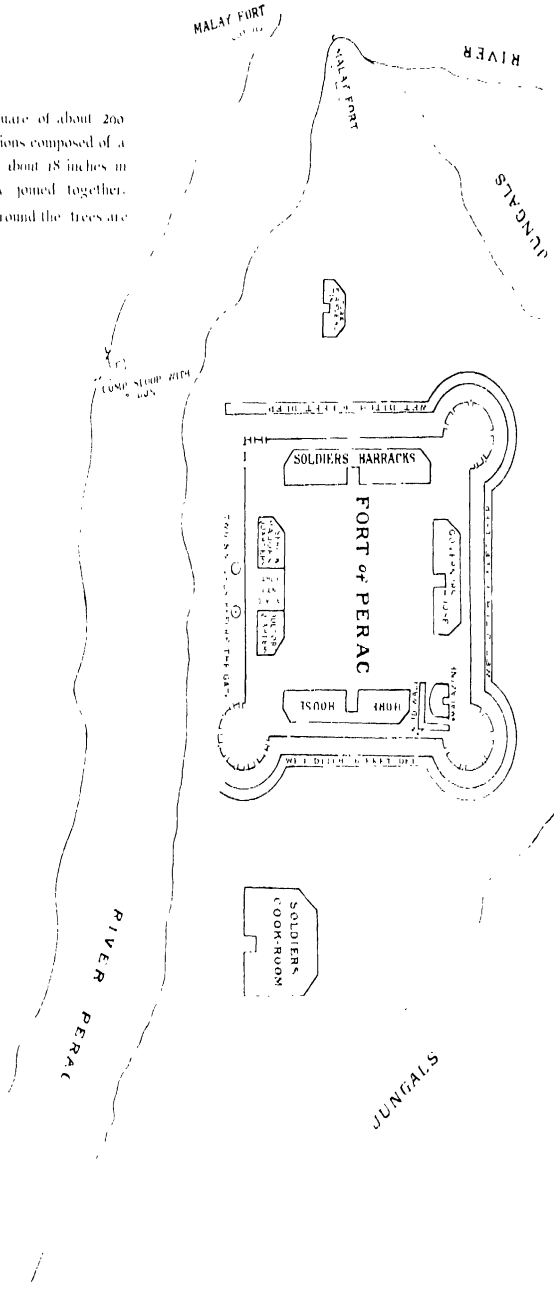
BULRAMPORE :

13th July, 1767.

SIR,

To ommit immediately acknowledging yours of the 10th would (considering the contents) perhaps have a bad appearance. I arrived last night eleven ; but, as the subject

N.B. -The Fort is a square of about 200 feet with three round bastions composed of a double stockade of trees, about 18 inches in circumference and firmly joined together. From the surface of the ground the trees are nearly 14 feet high.



is a matter of moment, I cannot answer it without duly ruminating and bestowing on it mature deliberation. I hope, therefore, that you will not take a few days' delay amiss on the present occasion.

With regard [etc.]
J. FERGUSSON.

61.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :
19th July, 1767.

SIR,

I have just received a letter from the Ameynagar Zemindar giving acctt. of a robbery committed on his purgunah on the 13th Currnt by one Dowarie, a Sardaar of Bisanpore. Three villages were plundered of everything, and one Bamin mortally wounded. On inquiry, I find there was not the smallest grounds for this incursion, all Dumader Singh's people being entirely removed from the purgunah some time. The Zemindar further adds that his purgunah has been three times attacked from Bisanpore this season, and that he cannot pretend to pay his revenue if these excursions are not put a stop to. Your orders on this subject will oblige.

I am [etc.]
J. FERGUSSON.

62.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :
24th July, 1767.

SIR,

This day is dispatched hence the *tushees* for the month Asar, to wit what part of it belongs to this Tanna, in the manner and according to the instructions given by your Banian.

I am [etc.]
J. FERGUSSON.

63.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :
30th July, 1767.

SIR,

I have, according to your desire, in a former letter, made an inquiry into the dispute between the Zemindars of Belabria and Goseign. It is regarding a bond, which Goseign has had of the Zemindars for the amount of Rs. 495 these forty years, and for the interest of which he had 3 villages at a low *tushees* from the Zemindar. During 34 years, the affair passed on this manner, the Zemindar always sensible that he made a bad bargain, but not being able to give the amount of the bond at one payment. This was made a handle to keep the villages who were greatly improved during this time, nor would he increase the *tushees*, being supported by the Morebunge Raja. At last, in Mr. Burdet's time, the

Zemindar made a complaint on wch. he says, he was ordered to be put in possession of his villages on paying the bond, but this the other denied. Accordingly, the Zemindar, not being able to show a perwana to that purpose of being put into possession, I did not deem his assertion valid. However, Goseign convinced at that time, that at a dharbar where justice without corruption only would be executed, saw that perhaps by a retrospect he might even suffer for past violence, applied to a person of Mahasa's, who resided at Janepore, to be an arbiter; on which it was agreed on both sides that Goseign should enjoy the villages two years more at the former rate of *tushees*, at which period he would give up his bond, without desiring any money. At this, the person, who acted as arbiter, has given under his hand to be the true state of the affair, as he settled it at the request of Goseign, and to which the Zemindar assented. At the expiration of two years, Goseign would neither completely give up the bond nor even the villages, which give occasion to this fresh complaint; so that my thoughts on this subject is that the Zemindar has not only an undoubted right to his bond and villages, but also to the amount of the produce of his villages above the *tushees* since the two years have expired. The Zemindar's Vakiel, who resides at Midnapore, is perfectly versed in the affair; he, if I am not mistaken, being the person who had the management of it in Mr. Burdet's time; and, if you chuse to make a particular inquiry into the affair, I will send one of Goseign's people: but the Zemindar conjures me so strongly to represent that Chakraran Mazumdar is declaredly in the interest of Goseign, who had taken effectual methods to prepossess him, that he dreads the event. I accordingly, having mention'd the affair to you, this prepossession, if real, is render'd abortive.

I am [etc.]
J. FERGUSSON.

N.B.—All the Janepore Tanidar's endeavours, and two perwanas from me, has not been effectual towards the Morebunge Asar *tushees*, Rs. 600 being due.

64.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :
1st August, 1767.

SIR,

I should have marched before now, had it not been for yesterday's intelligence wch. I chose to communicate to you. The answer I shall receive from you shall entirely determine me, but I imagine that you'll, as I do, judge it proper to see what effect my perwana in answer to his will have, as, if he attends here, I think it certainly advisable to put off taking notice of what he has done at present, as even the presence of an army of ours in an amicable manner will, I know, interrupt the collection of the revenue. As to my success I am now pretty easy on that head, if I may believe my punes who came latest thence, who assure me that he has got not above 500 chewars all together with him, that there is no alteration of any kind on the fort, and that there are no preparations of any kind. These chewars he has to prevent any further surprise from the thief, and to fall on him, if I order it.

If my answer of yesterday warrants my marching, I shall not wait for an answer to this, which, if you please, may be answered by the Jambunie Road, and by harcaro, for the more certain and expeditious conveyance. My harcaros, who were mostly out on the spy to prevent salt smugglers, I have call'd in, and shall be employed in their proper business.

The shroffs, when they arrive, shall be employed in the respective Tannas, and the unfit ones discharged.

The Ameynagur Vakiel requested this day that I would recall the sepoy from his purgunah, as none of his chewars will remain in their houses nor do their proper business, while they remain, so that he will not be able to pay the revenue of the I told them that they were sent for their protection, but that, if it had a contrary effect from their foolishness, that they would be recall'd, but, if his country was plunder'd again, he must attribute it to himself.

I am [etc.]
J. FERGUSSON.

65.

[Much defaced.]

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :
2nd August, 1767.

SIR,

The conduct of Jugurnut Dol Z[emindar of] Gatseela is so extraordinary I have immediately advising you of it. But in order to give you a clear idea of [what] appears the original cause of it I may acquainting you that there are besides the . . . who pay *tushees*, four notorious thi[eves or robbers who] pretend to independence and live solely by and plunder.

Several Zemindars have been induced . . . frequent and repeated thefts, and which they . . . impossible to recover, to allow them two are . . . promise that they would them others scorn such terms : the salt . . . suffer from their thefts. Of these thieves [one lived] in a part of the Gatseela Purgunah called Dampanwalla the head of the league . . . in [Barahabhum], and a 3rd in Ameynagur and a 4th in Sumsund in the Burdwan Province.

The Zemindar of Raipore first complained . . . terms of their people, and said that it as he would not give up some villages to them, the cattle were liable to be stole, and that particularly of some cattle the Dampanwalla . . . is call'd had taken from him within . . . On this I wrote the Zemindar of Gatseela des[iring] he would send him to me to answer for On the back of this came a complaint from . . . of cattle to a consid erable amounts . . . by the Dampanwalla in consent with . . . erpore thief. On this I sent perwanas the complainants to recover for accordingly went, but were answered that they made their . . . rice by stealing, and that if I made them a comfortable they would return what they had taken now, and would more, otherwise they would continue in their trade and [dis]regard my perwanas. On this I immediately Zemindars, in whose purgunahs they resided [immed]iately to bring these insolent fellow to me, other-[wise] I would look on them as art and part, and that them [according]ly. Tuesday next is the day fix'd upon to bring the return to Gatseela. On my perwanas arriving, the principal agent who is said to be the soul of the being at that time on the spot, was immediately and guarded for some da ys, while the Dewan and Rajah were in, to come themselves to effectually clear up some [comp]laints to which ye Cutchan Zemindar, a neighbour of his at of the Morbunge Raja presented against the Gas[teela] here, and which I shall take another opportunity to at

But the very night before their intended outset the . . . influenced by some bad councillor, and, of course, neither he nor Dewan thought . . . ing here, tho' at the same

time he sent me a very . . . essive letter, and part of the money he owes me. The people, whose fear induced them all to run away [exaggerate] matters very greatly, but the true state of the case is that he wants a kind of independence, *viz.*, to pay the revenue as agreed, but to overlook all the other orders regarding salt, thefts, etc. This I gather from his order to his Dewan to send my peon, who was stationed at a . . . on the Patna Salt Trade Road safely to me and to say to me that as the thief carried everything before that it was for fear of his receiving any infort . . . he knew I would not pardon.

I set out near a day later than the rest . . . military preparation of all sorts.

What steps shall be taken in consequence . . . affair depends entirely on your orders. But as you desire me never to conceal . . . you shall have them without reserve. First then, we cannot immediately proceed, as our gun carriages are unfit, and it will take some time to compleat our bildars re[pairs], 2ndly were they all ready the circumstances . . . deserves attention as well as of the sepoys . . . out of the question. It would be attended with great difficulties to march our troops and guns through the long grass so fit to conceal the . . . bowmen would give them an opportunity of galling us with impunity, and after we . . . arrived at the Fort, the water in the di[tch] . . . occasions the more loss and difficulty in the [entrance] of it . . . will go to extremes, if we only because he will at least do the essentials of . . . In the meantime and at the end of two months . . . may not only insist on his delivering . . . and conforming to all orders that may be gi[ve]n out] also oblige him to give up his military . . . on pain of being immediately attacked. However, Sir, if these sentiments do not . . . you . . . do my utmost to execute them successfully I, in the meantime, would be glad of your authority to . . . 10 carpenters in order to set my artillery in the field immediately I having prepar'd . . . purpose.

I am [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

66.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :

5th August, 1767.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 2nd and accordingly send one of Gosaien's along with the bearer. The affairs being represented differently, I am not greatly surprised if the Zemindar's Vakiel here was a man of no great understanding or capacity.

I wrote, the 2nd, of the Gatseela Zemindar's conduct. He has since made overtures in an indirect manner. All the notice I took of them was that I thought it odd that he should allow a thief, a dependant of his, to gain such an influence in his pergunnah, that, as he had sent no direct messengers to explain the real state of the matter, that I would not mention my opinion of it further than that he might hope for everything by rousing himself from this lethargy, seizing this formidable chewar and delivering him into my hands. By my intelligence I understand that he has given himself up for lost, as guilty o ingratitute, and that fear alone prevents his throwing himself at my feet, that those who led him into this error dare not approach him, if we except his mother who was the ring-leader, and that from a tenderness to the handsome fellow whom she gave for lost in being delivered up to me.

Be assur'd, Sir, that whether this affair is to be set right by force of arms or negotiation that I will do my utmost to have it done effectually.

I am [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

67.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE.

8th August, 1767.

SIR,

A Vakiel having arrived from the Gatseela Zemindar with a letter giving a full account of the affair I wrote you of has induced me to suspend my resolutions, and to put off my march until I have your sentiments of the matter. He begins by telling me that he had, according to my orders, put the thief in irons, and kept him there for some days until his Diwan should set out along with my people for Bulrampore; that, as he was in the Fort, he did not think that any force was necessary further than two punes, that the very night before the intended outset, about thirty or forty thief's chewars came by stealth to set him at liberty, which they effected, and that, as he has no force near him, they escaped with the prisoner, he not being able to retake him.

He acknowledges his fault in being so negligent, and from fear of my resentment he put off sending Diwan until he had an opportunity of laying the matter before me is it really was. He further adds that he owes his all to me, that he is ready to pay his *tushees*, and whatever else is due, and to obey all orders whatsoever that may be sent to him, and begs that we may not attribute that to him as a crime, what is really his misfortune, by rendering him suspected. In order to make a fair trial of his sincerity, I answered this perwana by observing that before his letter came, I understood it had been by force and not by stealth that he was set at liberty, that thence I had been induced to write to him that I should soon reach to re-establish him, but that now he writes that he is both able and willing to reduce him himself, that my going will be unnecessary, that he, therefore, and his Diwan should repair here to receive my advice and instructions regarding the proper measures to be taken in this expedition that it may be effectual. My people assure me he is making no preparations, that he has got about three hundred chewars about him with a view of attacking the chief if order'd: so that the intelligence the other gave was, as I supposed, greatly magnified and in great measure a lie.

If he, on the receipt of this perwana, should come here, I cannot see we have just ground to suspect him: if not, we have as good a plea as ever to march, and he is thrown off his guard by the negociation. I shall therefore wait for your answer to this before I move, having at the same time everything ready to act immediately, if you judge that still properest, but I judged it necessary to acquaint you of this defence of his before I could proceed to act against him.

I have made myself perfectly acquainted with the situation of the residence and dwelling place of the four chewars: they communicate one with another, and the two most distant are not from one another above 6 *cosse*. The Zemindars have offer'd, if every one agrees to it, to seize them without my giving myself any trouble, but I doubt if it is political to order them all to arm themselves, as those who have any pique at one another will take that opportunity of plundering their foe's villages under pretence of persuing these the chewars thither. I would, therefore, at present let them also enjoy repose, and so soon as the rains are over, take some of these Tanna chewars, *viz.*, of Colianpore, Sankacoolea, and Ramgur, with two companies to attack them, ordering the Zemindars, in the rear only to keep a guard on their own frontier and to seize them if they attempted to enter their respective purgunas, beginning with the Gatseela purgunah one called the Deinpara Zemindar's.

I am [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE,

[No date. Recd. 15th August, 1767.]

SIR,

Govindram, Divan to Jugernut Dol, Zemindar of Gatseela, arrived here two days ago, and I delayed writing untill I could give you an account of the whole affair at once. As the affair from the beginning was suspected by me to be greatly exaggerated, if not false, I gave orders to those punes who had been there to be kept here, and sent on no other business untill the affair was clear'd up.

As soon as the Divan arriv'd, therefore, I myself immediately asked how he could reconcile several points of intelligence I had to his duty, supposing him ignorant of the thief's escape. Then I condescended on several particulars, which he immediately declared to be without the least foundation, on which I ordered these punes to be call'd ; two were not to be found ; viz., those who had the Prisoner in charge, and a third, the salt Peon, on being asked why he left Gatseela, so far from saying what he has said before about his being murder'd if he staid, acknowledged that this very Divan had used arguments with him to stay that none of my people should suffer now they were on their guard, and that, if they all run away in that manner, I would certainly believe the Raja concerned.

In a few words I found that I had been imposed on by those rascals who, having used violence to extort money, then thought this a good method to prevent discovery. As to the thief's escape his defence is thus : so soon as the perwana came, he was seized and my people were ordered to take him away. Tho' they had a great deal more business, and tho' I had ordered them on no account to stay there after they had got him, yet they staid several days, pretending fear on the road. The manner in which he escaped was thus : on Juggurnut Dol's coming to Gatseela, this chief Zemindar was the first who came in, by which means his chewars became all servants about his house, and afterwards scarce any more were added to them except those of another Surdaar, who was in, guide when the old Zemindar was seized. These Dampara chewars, not relishing that their Chief should be a prisoner, formed the scheme of setting him at liberty, which they did ; but the punes, in whose custody he was, neither attempted to defend nor fly to him the Zemindar for assistance but ran off so that the noise caused an alarm, on which, having made himself acquainted with cause, he immediately ordered Tackam's Surdaar with his people to persue and overtake him ; on which a skirmish ensued and some chewars on both sides wounded, but the prisoner escaped. All those of my people who were there, without any inquiry, betook themselves to flight and spread the alarm. As to preparations of war or anything of that sort, he utterly denies it ; and desires me, if we suspect him, that a few persons I can depend on, if I please, may be sent to make the most particular and exact inspection into that matter, that indeed the accident of the thief's escaping, and the account his servants would give of the affairs had induced him to put off his setting out to me next day, as before was intended, or even sending his Diwan, untill by writing he had sounded whether I would give him a patient hearing or whether I was prepossessed by the accounts of my servants : he requested then my forgiveness and compassion, which if granted he would convince me in time to come that he had no bad intentions.

The Divan went back yesterday and returns with the Raja a 2nd time on Sunday. If you still imagine a company proper to be sent, I shall order them to march while the Raja is here, as if there is any treachery in the case, tho' I cannot think it, the Raja is a kind

of hostage for the safe conduct of the seapoys to the Fort, but, Sir, (I think) if he comes here, wch. he doubtless will now, we ought to forgive him, as he and family living in the Fort will either be obliged to move or seem like prisoners if they remain, and it will give great difficulty in collecting the revenues. I thought it incumbent on me, in order to be just, to communicate his defence, as I had done the former intelligence which differs not much from an accusation.

I am [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

On enquiry it seems this sort of practice was not confined to Gatseela of extorting rupees wch. they called Chirz. The Tanidaar's people, etc., tell me that the Cugerie peons are allow'd Cona from the Zemindars to whom they go on business. I have, therefore, thought of writing to all the Zemindars to allow them 2 annas a day, while they remain, if agreeable to them, and no more; that if violence is offer'd them for a couric, they have only to complain. One authority, who says he has got your perwana, I have daily complaints of from Sankacoelea and Colianpore for forcing the country people to work for him, etc. I have ordered him to show your perwana, if he has one, to know for what

J. F.

69.

TO G. VANSITTART.

GATSEELA :

22nd August, 1767.

SIR,

In my last from Bulrampore I explained to you the whole affair of the Gatseela Raja as set forth by his Divan, and also mentioned his promise of attending me on Sunday the 17th. This not being the case, I not certain whether fear and treachery was the real cause of his not coming, determined to make myself certain by a personal inspection into his conduct. Accordingly, the 18th, no accounts arriving, I set out with 2 companies and about 30 chewars, being all that repeated perwanas could draw from both the Sankacoelea and Colianpore, and arrived at 3 coss the road being exceedingly bad, and the bullocks [?] not having come up, obliged me to halt at Kelampore in Jambunie, from noon the 19 until 2 next morning, when all being ready and some more, about 180 excellent chewars from Jambunie being joined, we proceeded, and yesterday arrived in the Fort. The Divan met us on the road with a letter from the Raja expressing his satisfaction at our coming, and we also found that, tho' the villages were deserted, yet it was not from any dissatisfaction but fear, as many of them came to us, whom I confirmed by pane, on which all the rest came to their houses. Notwithstanding of these favourable appearances, I hastened on as much as possible considering the road, and not to forsake the bazar. The Raja could not stand it, conscious to himself of having disobeyed repeatedly my summons to Bulrampore, and his mother with others crying and entreating in his ears constantly to retire, otherwise that, coming into my hands, his smallest punishment would be perpetual imprisonment, he suffered himself to be dragged into the jungle. On my arrival, I took possession of the Fort, placed sentinels on all his effects, and having given orders in such a manner that none of my camp adherents could be guilty of the least violence in the adjacent villages, the country became so self-satisfied that every one returned to their respective homes, and the Raja sent word that if I would receive and judge favourably his

repeated misdemeanours, that he would wait on me, and submit himself to my discretion. I sent him word that there were several errors of which he had been guilty, that these must all be amended, and those who induced him to be guilty of them drove away, that, as he submitted himself to me, I would forgive, after rectifying these mistakes and taking proper precautions that none such should * * * * * On these conditions sent him punes ordering him to come to-morrow in the morning, without fail and delay, otherwise I would construe it in a design of amusing me, which I would not fail to punish. He accordingly came this morning, and I promised him forgiveness, and that he should still remain Zemindar, unless a future offence should evidence him incorrigible. I propose, therefore, acting as you before desired me in case of non-resistance, which was the case.

I was ashamed to write to you until I was sure of preventing any bad consequences which my delay and confidence (contrary to your opinion) might have produced, or fallen a sacrifice to my own blind security ; the former being now the case, I have resumed my pen again with some assurances as my sentiment regarding the affairs have in the event proved to have been not without foundation. I hope for your favor soon after the arrival of this to confirm me in my intention, or to give what other orders you think proper after this explanation of the affair.

Believe me to be, Sir, [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

TO G. VANSITTART.

CAVENDISH FORT :

24th August, 1767.

SIR,

I have received your favours of the 18th and 20th. Having settled everything with the Raja, and let him understand how far he was dependent, and likewise the lenity of our Government by which he procured a pardon he had scarcely any title to, I proceeded to assure him that his only way of shewing the sense he had of this lenity was by explicit obedience in time to come, as if he transgressed again he would undoubtedly be ruined, that I would (now being acquainted with the circumstances of the insolence of my servants) put an effectual stop to that and that, thus being without a shadow of excuse in future, if he [transgressed] immediate punishment order'd him, to drive away at once evil councillors, and acquainted him that a company should remain in the Fort, not chusing to put the other alternative, as it would give him a notion that we have a higher opinion of his strength than he has himself, whereas I would have him to believe that no obstacle is unsurmountable to us, and that we hold his ditch and rampart as nothing.

Your perwana shall be duly delivered to the Jatbunga zemindar, but forgive me, Sir, if unasked I acquaint you that the said zemindar has no less than five Nankars value Rs. 300 in his purgunah, and that long ago he complained to me that if the Cogoi eat his plains, for the five I saw myself are entirely the prime of his not possibly pay his tus[hees] that time desired him to re[main] quiet, and that I would represent the affair to you.

The truth is, I do believe, that he cannot pay his *tushees*, if these five particular villages, remain Nankars, as I am sensible that the fellows I had with me, being his bitter enemies (for what reason I know not), took every method to endeavour to have him supplanted in

his zemindary, and this of screwing his *tushees* one after wch. they took possession these villages as Nankars without so much as acquainting me. I am bound to be his advocate, as he is the readiest of all the zemindars to obey orders, attended me himself on the last expedition hither, and immediately on hearing of my outset, sent a vakiel and pikes after me this time.

I am [etc.]
J. FERGUSSON.

71.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :
27th August, 1767.

SIR,

Yesterday I arrived here with one Company from Gatseela, where I left the other according to the sense I had of your orders from former letters, having taken particular pains to make the Raja sensible of his real situation and dependence on the Company, and I believe he will act properly in future. I have forwarded your perwana to the Jatbunia zemindar, as I have also received yours regarding the Belabria zemindar's affair, and a copy of your orders on the head.

To save you trouble I have repeatedly wrote to the Cutwal concerning some of the Bazar beparies, who have run hence, as also the Moodie of it, but he has never either answered me nor sent them. Now I must mention it to you as all those I left with the Company at Gatseela will run in all probability, if not deterr'd by the punishment of the others. I also wrote for taylors, shoemakers, ferriers, etc., armoruners of wch. my seapoys are in general need, but not one of either sort are come. It is on that account that I am obliged to trouble you. I should also be obliged to you for a headsmith to oversee and give directions, having abundance of working hands.

Believe me [etc.]
J. FERGUSSON.

N.B.—I have received yours of 24th, I am glad to be confirm'd by it, seeing I had already done what you before proposed. In my last, I gave my reasons for not giving the Raja the alternative.—J. F.

72.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :
30th August, 1767.

SIR,

I did myself the pleasure of addressing you two days ago. Along with this I enclose a return of my seapoys. I yesterday had a visit from the Zemindar of Gatseela here. He had mentioned to me in the Fort that he proposed marrying a daughter of the Fulkisma family, and yesterday he came, he said, to ask my leave. After a little stay, he desired a private audience, in wch. he said a great deal about the lenity I had shown him, that now his eyes were open, that he saw himself in a true light, and was sensible of what his duty was, that he was determin'd in future to act that part which I had instructed him was both most

prudent for himself and would not fail to be agreeable to me, and concluded by adding that I must forgive him if he proposed a small token of his gratitude, and insisted that I would permit him to take the opportunity of presenting me with Rs. 300, which, tho' far inferior to his inclinations, yet he was obliged to confine himself to on account of his circumstances. To this I answered that I would not accept of anything at present, nor would I absolutely deny acceptance, but that I could not reconcile it to my duty to receive for myself, while part of the Company's *tushees* are due ; that after that was given in I would give him an answer.

Now, Sir, in persuance of my resolution communicated to you some time ago, I mention of myself this affair to you, though I really believe that had I received it and held my tongue, you never would have heard it from the donor : he, in all appearance, gives it from his heart. But this would have transgressed the laws of honor wch. I hope never to be guilty of ; and I have also to mention it to set the disposition of the Zemindar in as clear a light before you as I can.

It remains with you to point the propriety with wch. I can accept of this, or whether I am to refuse.

There are two or three zemindars who have applied to me about villages wch. their neighbours had taken from them during the anarchy wch. prevailed here. I imagine you will chuse to defer these enquiries untill your visit here, but if you chuse to have them settled now, I shall, on your orders, either make the best enquiry I can or send the complainants into Midnapore.

If my remaining in the jungles another year should be certain, I should esteem it a favour, if you would not grant perwanas for cutting wood to Pagi (black) fellows, as if you gentlemen at Midnapore chuse, or any others who may obtain your perwanas for wood, you will be furnished by me at as reasonable a rate as the (black) fellows cut it, and it is only by something in this way, wch. perhaps you'll be good enough to digest in a plan, that I can forsee any considerable advantage by remaining, wch. I am convinced you had in your eye, when you proposed my stay here.

Believe me always impress'd with a due sense of my obligation to be, Sir [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

73.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :

5th September, 1767.

SIR,

I ought to have sooner acknowledged your oblidging supply of cheese wch. you have repeatedly sent me, also that having received a supply of that as well as of several other things from Calcutta, your goodness in that respect was not . . . now of such consequence as before . . . now, Wednesday, that part of this . . . Tanna treasure, wch. was present, was sent to Midnapore. I have not been wanting in pressing the others who are behind. That of the Gatseela Zemindar I have chose to take here, for this reason as he requires mere *packet** as the circars call it. He is behind on account of his marriage, but I imagine will send his with the *Janie* in a few days, after which I shall leave him to his proper Tanna.

Your orders regarding Panchânund, I have order'd a pune to see executed. I must request another supply of paper, what I have being near its finis.

Believe me, with regard [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

74.

TO G. VANSITTART.

BULRAMPORE :

20th November, 1767.

SIR,

I have been favor'd with your's of the 17th ; before the arrival of it I sent off the perwanas of this Tanna with strongest term'd ones from myself I could to both Tannas.

My bills I hope by this time are arrived. The field pieces and all necessary appendages will be in readiness to march at that time.

Let me now both acknowledge my great thankfulness and satisfaction from your extraordinary obliging paragraph which concludes your letter. I shall only say that my endeavours shall not be wanting to deserve by my conduct your protection and regard.

I must request that you will please if you think it necessary that a further light may be given from ye Congori's books regarding Aurungabad purgunnah, as my utmost search and inquiry here can give no light into it for I even promised to apply to you and procure the purgunnah for a brother of the present Hurrynarain's, Zemindar of Mhan Boioon, provided, he could give an exact acct. of it, but he denied any knowledge of the name or place. The Mhan's people I have examined, threatened, and cross-questioned to no purpose. This brother of the Zemindar is a complainant and claimant on the Mhan Purga. He is put off untill your arrival, as is every other affair of any consequence, since you first wrote me of your intentions of being here in person.

I am [etc.]

J. FERGUSSON.

(To be continued.)

The Career of John O'Donnell and the Cruise of the "Death or Glory" Private Ship of War.*

PART I.

I. O'DONNELL'S FIRST PERIOD IN INDIA.



AS to the parentage, place of birth, education of my hero I have been unable to make any discoveries.† He came out to India in 1771, as a cadet on the Bombay establishment, having hopes of rapid advancement, based on the patronage of Colonel Wedderburne, who, unfortunately for the lad, died before those prospects could be realised.‡ In those days, when India was offering to adventurous youths a promise of huge fortunes to be made with ease, but not always too conscientiously, the great deterrent was the enormous cost of the journey by an East Indiaman. A passage at the Company's expense could be secured by the simple process of obtaining a cadetship in the Company's army: and on arrival the ways and means of escaping military service might be found. It will, perhaps, be remembered that it was in this way the Baron Charles Imhoff made his way out to India: but only to be deported for his pains.§ We do not, however, doubt that O'Donnell honestly intended to pursue a military career, but after a few years, he found that in the Bombay Army there was little scope for his ambitions.

One can readily understand that the life of young subalterns in the H. E. I. Company's Army could not at that time have been very delectable. The expenses were enormous, promotion slow, and (without influence) uncertain: the salary was utterly inadequate. About 1780 it was stated that a Captain could not get on without an establishment of thirty servants, and that this

* Owing to my transfer to Shillong, I have been unable to compare the printed proofs of these hitherto unpublished documents with the originals, as I had hoped, I therefore have been unable to be thoroughly loyal to the orthography of the originals.

† A search kindly made at the India Office by Mr. W. Foster, on my behalf, has failed to secure further information.

‡ In the same year John Prinsep went out as a cadet, and a short time after his arrival, resigned his commission and entered upon his great commercial career. Francis Gladwin, the Orientalist, and Hercules Durham, who represented the Crown in the Nanda Kumar trial, had been in the Company's Army.

§ See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, pp. 145-6.

would cost him at least Rs. 113 a month, and in "the field he will want thirty coolies as everything is carried by hand, at Rs. 4 each monthly." A once famous ballad, headed "Ninety-five," describes the subaltern's woes.

I am a younger son of Mars, and spend my time in carving
A thousand different ways and means to keep myself from starving ;
For how with servants' wages, Sir, and clothes can I contrive
To rent a house, and feed myself on scanty ninety-five.

Six mornings out of seven, I lie in bed to save
The only coat my pride can boast, the Service ever gave ;
And as for eating twice a day, as heretofore, I strive
To measure out my frugal meal by scanty ninety-five.

The sun sunk down in Thetis' lap, I quit my crazy cot,
And straight prepare my bullock's heart, or liver for the pot :
For Khitmudgar or Cook I've not, to keep my fire alive,
But puff and blow, and blow and puff, on scanty ninety-five.

My evening dinner gormandiz'd, I buckle on my shoes,
And stroll among my brother Subs in quest of better news ;
But what, alas ! can they expect from orders to derive,
Which scarce can give them any hopes of keeping ninety-five.

The chit-chat hour spent in grief, I trudge it home again,
And try by smoking half the night, to smoke away my pain ;
But all my hopes are fruitless, and I must still contrive
To do the best a hero can on scanty ninety-five.

Alack ! that e'er I left my friends, to seek my fortune here,
And gave my solid pudding up, for such uncertain fare ;
Oh ! had I chose the better way, and staid at home to thrive,
I had not known what 'tis to live, on scanty ninety-five.

Officers in the Company's Military service at that time were indeed badly circumstanced. They could, in ordinary, rise to no higher rank than that of Colonel ; leave home was not admissible ; and, if after long years of service in a hostile climate an officer resigned the service, neither pension nor recognition of any kind was to be expected from those whom he had served so faithfully. Colonel Pearse's letters show how a system so cruelly contrived resulted in constant disaffection. Scarcely an officer of any importance in those years can be found who, at some time or the other, had not been either unfairly passed over in promotion, censured, or even court-martialed : and nearly every officer, who pulled through the years of adversity, had backed his fortunes as a military man by speculations in commerce.

After a few years at Bombay, O'Donnell made up his mind to take leave and visit Bengal. He arrived at Calcutta in the year of the trial and execution of Nanda Kumar. Before long he succeeded in securing the

patronage of John Bristow,* whom the then dominant party of Francis, Clavering and Monson had, in despite of the Governor-General, appointed Resident at Lucknow, in the room of Nathaniel Middleton ("Memory Middleton"). With Francis' prime favourite to succour him, our young friend secured the profitable post of Commissary of Supplies to the Nawab of Oudh's Troops, and a little later that of Deputy Paymaster.

In these offices O'Donnell built up a very solid fortune, but there is a very tangled tale as to his accounts which I shall not weary the reader by attempting to unravel. No doubt there was no dishonesty. The habit of mixing up the accounts of one's public office with those of one's own private business, and drawing on the treasury for loans to meet one's personal calls was then not uncommon, and it was not regarded as very reprehensible if, in the end, more or less clean sheets could be evolved from the confusion.

A letter, dated Lucknow, 17th September, 1777, shows that, although O'Donnell did contrive to make a considerable fortune in a very short time,† his position at such a court as the Nawab's could have been none too easy, and difficulties of the kind perhaps account for the oblique appearance of his business transactions.

1778. O. C. 31st December. F.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. O'Donnell to the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Supreme Council, dated at Lucknow, 17th September, 1777.

As a British subject under the protection of the Hon'ble Board, I humbly take the liberty of troubling you on the following occasion, and beg your interference as my only means of redress.

Near two years since His Excellency the Vizier gave me a commission to purchase for him in Calcutta goods to a considerable amount, which I accordingly did, delivered them to him, and received his bonds bearing the legal interest of twelve per cent. per annum for the money. As I was actually under the necessity of borrowing from my friends to provide the articles the Nabob ordered, and they are now very urgent to be paid, I have repeatedly applied to His Excellency for the amount of his bonds to me, and have represented to him the severe hardship I suffer by his delay in discharging his debt and enabling me thereby to fulfil my engagements to those persons who furnished me with money to supply his commissions.

I have often represented the hardship of my case and situation to the former and present Resident, likewise to little purpose. I must, therefore, most humbly and earnestly intreat the Hon'ble Board will be pleased to point out some method of relief and redress. My creditors (and not without cause being now almost two years out of their money) are very pressing. His Excellency's debt to me is about ninety thousand rupees, and, as I imagine

* To those more interested in the social life of Calcutta than the story of the struggle between Hastings and Francis, Bristow has been immortalised by his wife—the beautiful Emma Wrangham, of whom Hicky records "a band of music might have been led with the exactest tune by the motion of her foot" in dancing. See Busteed, *Echoes*, p. 195 *et seq.* At this time Bristow was not married.

† Barwell states that Captain Webbe, while in charge of the Nabob's troops, had a pay of Rs. 7,000 *per mensem* and allowances! The reader must remember that the rupee was then worth about two shillings and eight pence if not more.

his finances are rather low, I should be contented with a part this year and the balance when most convenient. However all my applications have been ineffectual, and I am sorry indeed to trouble the Hon'ble Board on the subject, but my real distress, the importunity of my creditors, and the apprehensions of a gaol, should I return to the Presidency without the means of discharging my legal debts, oblige me to solicit your interference, as my sole resource and I flatter myself from your known regard and attention to justice and right that you will not deny me your assistance on this occasion.

I hope the Hon'ble Board will deign to favor me with an answer as soon as their more important business will admit.

I have,

(Sd.) JOHN O'DONNELL.

In 1778, the Nawab's army was taken over by the Company, and O'Donnell, finding himself superseded, resigned, and left his station leaving behind his accounts in what, in Anglo-Indian jargon, may be described as a very *kutch*a state. His patron Bristow had some time since been recalled, and Middleton who had returned, perhaps had no too friendly a regard for the *protégé* of his rival. O'Donnell was clearly in a hurry to be off.

1778. O. C. 23rd March. 21.

LUCKNOW :

11th March, 1771.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I am very sorry to be under the necessity of troubling the Honourable Board with a complaint against Mr. O'Donnell for quitting his station as Deputy Paymaster to the Vizier's late establishment without adjusting with me, or his immediate successor the accounts of his office.

Upon Mr. Oliver's proceeding to Furruckabad to take upon him the trust of the Hon'ble Board have appointed him to in the Temporary Brigade, I made it my request that he would finally adjust all the accounts of my office with Mr O'Donnell, which he was kind enough to undertake, and I accordingly furnished him with such accounts and vouchers relative to that office as were in my possession, acquainting Mr. O'Donnell that I had done so, and requiring his personal attendance upon Mr. Oliver for that purpose.

He thought proper, however, to disregard my injunctions, and instead of waiting Mr. Oliver's arrival, he contented himself with leaving a letter for him inclosing the abstract of his disbursements for May, June, and July, and acquainting him that he should forward his abstracts for the remaining two months, August and September, from Allahabad, which, however, he has not done.

As I humbly conceive Mr. O'Donnell was not authorised to quit his station before every account of his office had been audited and finally passed, and as I am sensible that his absence must occasion great delay and perhaps insuperable difficulties in the adjustment of the accounts of the Vizier's late establishment under British officers which are extremely intricate and perplexed, I trust the Hon'ble Board will be pleased to take his conduct into consideration, and either order him back to his former station, for the purpose of adjusting his accounts, or oblige him to transmit me a clear and satisfactory account of all his receipts and disbursements during his holding the office of Deputy Paymaster to the Nabob's troops, with responsible security to make good any balance which may appear due from him on the aforementioned adjustment.

I have enclosed for the information of the Hon'ble Board the correspondence which passed between Mr. O'Donnell and myself on the above subject.

I have, etc.,
NATH. MIDDLETON,
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

O. C. 31st December 1778. No. A.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. John O'Donnell, dated at Lucknow, 10th January, 1778.

Mr. Oliver being on the eve of his departure for Ferrokabad, I have given into his custody the several accounts and vouchers which I received from you during your holding the office of Deputy Paymaster at Futty Ghur, from which he has promised to adjust my general account with you. I must, therefore, desire that you will attend Mr. Oliver for this purpose, and that you will give him such explanations and insights as may enable him to effect the object I have so earnestly recommended to him. Until this be done, it is impossible for me to forward to the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council the account they have required of me.

I am, etc.,
(Sd.) NATH. MIDDLETON.

1778. O. C. 31st December B.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. John O'Donnell to Mr. Middleton, dated 16th January, 1778.

I had the pleasure of writing you the 13th instant and then acquainted you that urgent business required my immediate presence in Calcutta. I have left with M. Scholey, the Deputy Paymaster to the Temporary Brigade, my public accounts for May, June and July to deliver to M. Oliver on his arrival at Ferokabad. My disbursements for August and September I have not yet been able to prepare, as I was under the necessity of returning abstracts and bills to the several Gentlemen formerly in the Vizier's Service, now dispersed at Calcutta and other places to be altered, they not being made out agreeable to the Muster return or proper form. As many Gentlemen were obliged to leave Ferokabad before they could receive their arrears who left their vouchers behind with their attornies to receive their amount. However I hope very shortly to complete every account of my Office and send them from Allahabad.

Your letter of the 10th instant I was duly honored with, and would with pleasure wait the arrival of M. Oliver, and give him every information he might require of me, could my business in Calcutta dispense with my absence at this time. I have on this account to get away with all expedition got ready my accounts to the beginning of August, tho' those for March have not yet been audited by M. Oliver. In Calcutta, when called upon or any reference being made, I shall most readily give every satisfaction and explanation in my power; tho' I cannot possibly see any difficulty that can occur in the adjusting my accounts, as every Disbursement I have made is conformable to the establishment and instructions I have received from you and the Auditor-General.

It is not by any means thro' any delay or procrastination of mine that you have not yet been able to furnish the Hon'ble Board with the Vizier's accounts; as so late as the month of July last I forwarded to the auditor my disbursements for March, which have not yet

passed his office. If there was any error in them I was ready to correct and alter it upon intimation of it.

(Sd.) JOHN O'DONNELL.

1778 O. C. 31st December No. C.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. O'Donnell, dated 27th January, 1778.

I am favored with your letter of the 16th, and must again repeat my desire that you will postpone your departure from Forokabad, until such time as your accounts with my office of Paymaster are finally adjusted. They are intricate and perplexed, and consequently cannot be clearly stated without frequent references to you. Mr. Oliver, who has all the materials in his possession for finally closing these accounts, is, I imagine, now arrived at Forokabad and I hope entered upon the business. But if you still keep your resolution of proceeding immediately to the Presidency, I shall be under the necessity of publicly protesting against it, as well as of requesting of the Governor-General and Council to interpose their authority in ordering you back to Forokabad for the purpose of adjusting your public accounts, which cannot be done without your personal assistance.

I remain, etc.,

NATH. MIDDLETON.

Despite repeated orders to clear up the accounts before proceeding down country, O'Donnell made his way to Calcutta. The documents in connection with this episode in his life are numerous, but as they are of no great interest they may be passed over. On 31st December 1778, the subject of O'Donnell's accounts, or rather the want of them, came up for consideration at a meeting of Council attended by Hastings, Barwell, Francis and Wheler. It was decided :—

As Mr. O'Donnell is on the point of departing for England on a Danish ship by the way of Suez, and, as it appears from a letter of Mr. Alexander now before the Board that he is considerably indebted to the Company on account of the Vizier for sums improperly charged and for credits not allowed in his accounts.

ORDERED that the Commissioner of Law Suits be directed to take immediate advice of Council and to institute such process as they shall recommend against Mr. O'Donnell to oblige him to answer the amount which shall hereafter appear to be due from him, and in the meantime to pursue such legal means as may be necessary to prevent his departure without giving such security for this purpose. If the above means should fail, the Secretary is ordered to write to the Commander or owner of the Danish vessel on which Mr. O'Donnell has taken his passage desiring that he will not suffer him to embark, until he shall have given security for answering the Company's claim upon him, and for regularly adjusting his accounts with him.

In due course, the Commissioner of Law Suits, George Bogle—the famous traveller in Tibet—reported that O'Donnell had paid up a great portion of his debts to the Company, and that his further detention was not likely to secure any further results. So O'Donnell was suffered to depart.

2. THE OVERLAND ROUTE.

"Mr. Elliot proposes to go overland from Alexandria to Suez, which has been found so convenient and expeditious a road, that I believe the intercourse will be very frequent by that channel, especially as I understand that the Company have ordered two vessels to be employed as packets alternately from that station." So wrote Welbore Ellis on 13th May 1777. Our next two chapters might well form a rather lurid commentary on this text.

The establishment of an overland mail had been an object much cherished by Warren Hastings, and consequently under-rated by Francis and his *clientele*. England was, once again, at war with France: the internal state of India was vexed by disaffection and conspiracies: the intrigues of the French were incessant. No wonder, at so critical a time, the Great Proconsul was anxious to quicken his communications with England. After the Fall of Pondichery, he determined that the good news should go home *via* Suez. On 22nd November, 1778, he, in company with Barwell, wrote the following minute for the consideration of the Board:—

1778. O. C. 30th November. No. 1.

Minute of Hastings and Barwell.

FORT WILLIAM:
22nd November, 1778.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL,

The Board in consultation 17th August agreed to accept an offer made to them by Mr. Greuber* to carry a packet to England by the way of Suez. I, therefore, move that we do now avail ourselves of Mr. Greuber's proposal, as I deem it of the utmost importance that the Court of Directors should be informed as early as possible, not only of the political state of their affairs in Bengal, but of the capture of Pondichery, and I have reason to believe that the Gentlemen of Madras do not mean to send a dispatch over land in consequence of an event so highly interesting to the nation and to the Company as the surrender of that Fortress.

I have made every necessary enquiry as to the proper season for forwarding a packet to Suez, and I am informed that the vessel we may take for this purpose should sail in the course of this month or very early in December at the furthest. I now lay before the Board proposals I have received from the owners of the *Britannia* and the *St. Helena*, and move that they be delivered to the Secretary with orders to treat with the owners of either of these vessels, and to receive Mr. Greuber with the public dispatches which may be committed to his care, to sail directly for the port of Suez, without touching at any other by the way, and for that purpose to be put under the orders of Mr. Greuber, till her arrival at the port of Suez, to remain there until letters will be received in answer from the Court of Directors, until the first of August, and, if not shall arrive by then, to return at the discretion of the Com mander.

W. H[ASTINGS.]
R. B[ARWELL.]

* Nicholas Greuber, after a long career as a factor at Patna, Dacca, etc., had been Secretary. See "Marria e Registers."

To this suggestion, Francis and Wheler opposed a counter-minute.

If Mr. Greuber be determined to go home by the way of Suez, I shall not object to trusting him with a packet for the Company: but I entirely disapprove and object to our taking a ship for his accommodation. The capture of Pondichery will be known in England before he can arrive there. We have no other event of any moment to communicate to the Court of Directors, and, if we had, we should gain nothing by sending an account of it by Suez. The letters which went last year by the *Aranja* and were dispatched from hence the beginning of October did not arrive in England a fortnight sooner than the *Europa* which sailed the end of November. At all events there is no occasion to load the Company with the expense of sending a ship on purpose to Suez, since there is a Danish vessel now under dispatch for that port, on board of which Mr. Greuber may make his passage if he thinks proper.

P. F.

E. W.

Hastings, having now a casting vote, was able to carry out his intention. His Minute of 23rd November shows how little the existing state of things in Egypt was realised by either the authorities in India or at Home.

1778. O. C. 23rd November. No. 28.

Minute by Warren Hastings as to a Packet between India and Suez.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL,

As it is of the greatest importance to the Company that their Letters to and from India should be conveyed with as little delay as possible, I have long projected the Establishment of a Packet between India and Suez in Egypt, from whence our Dispatches may pass with any danger to any of the Southern Ports in Europe.

The advantage of such an Establishment in point of dispatch cannot be doubted, as Mr. Whitehill,* one of the Council of Madras, who brought out a packet from the Court of Directors, was not eleven weeks from London to Madras, and I myself received letters from England in nearly the same time. I beg leave to call the Board's attention to the 34th Paragraph of the Company's General Letter under date the 4th of July, 1777, by the *Besborough*, the latter part of which I shall quote.

"At the same time we shall take every step that the Company may be secure in the privilege of passing the dispatches under their seal to and from the East Indies by the way of Suez, and that all Vessels carrying such dispatches and furnished with the Company's Passport be suffered to that port, and remain there without molestation, provided they have no Goods or Merchandize on Board for carrying on any kind of Traffick. It will therefore be necessary for you to signify the same immediately to the Commanders and Officers of such vessels respectively, and we hereby direct that you take effectual means to prevent the shipping of any Goods or Merchandize whatsoever thereon."

* John Whitehill was Acting Governor of Madras August 31, 1777 to February 8, 1778. Being in England, at the time when the news arrived of Lord Pigot's arrest, he was despatched overland with orders for that unfortunate nobleman's release and reinstatement. The duration of his journey is said to have been 59 days. He acted as Governor from April 6, to November 8, 1780, when he was suspended by order of Warren Hastings. He was an uncle of the famous Eliza Draper. Vide *Original Letters of Asiaticus*, p. xx.

I think we are by this Letter authorized to establish a Packet for the Navigation of the Red Sea, and I have taken some pains to inform myself in what manner such an Establishment may be made with the greatest possible advantage, that is for the purpose of expedition. I have learnt from a Gentleman who was at Bombay in October last, that two vessels upon the model of the *Swallow* sloop of war were then upon the stocks, one of which is to be sheathed with Copper, and that these Vessels were building for the Company's use. The *Swallow* is one of the best sailors in the Navy, and from her shape is peculiarly adapted to the Navigation of the Red Sea, in which the winds generally prevail from one Point, and are contrary to Vessels bound to Suez. The length of time that the packet will be under the necessity of waiting at Suez for the Company's Dispatches make it highly proper that she should be sheathed with Copper, as she must lie at anchor in Salt water, there being no river at Suez large enough to admit a vessel of burthen, by which her Bottom might become so foul as to make a material difference in her return to India.

Mr. Maclean, who has served on board an East India man as Second and Chief Mate, has made the voyage up and down the Red Sea at different seasons, and performed the journey from Suez to London and back again, is particularly well qualified for the Command, and will be better able than another to take the necessary measures for the safe and speedy conveyance of such dispatches as may be entrusted to his care.

I therefore move that Mr. Maclean be furnished with a letter to the President and Council of Bombay requesting them to deliver to him the vessel sheathed with Copper that I have described in my Minute, or, if she should be otherwise engaged, the other vessel built on the same model; and if neither of the vessels can be spared, that they will cause any other proper Vessel to be provided for a Suez Packet and delivered to Mr. Maclean.

As Mr. Maclean must set out for Bombay in the course of this week, should the Board agree to my motion, I am of opinion that he should be put immediately upon the same Establishment as the Commander of the *Amazon*, and that he should be directed to proceed to Bombay with the Letter mentioned in my motion with all possible Expedition. Upon his arrival there he will be under the orders of the Governor and Council and it will be proper to inform the (m) of our desire that the Packet may be dispatched so as to arrive in Bengal early in August.

W. H.

So wrote Hastings in the November of 1778. English folk were hastening out from England *via* Suez, and John O'Donnell was counting upon carrying the fortune he had acquired home mainly in piece goods by way of the Egyptian desert. No one apparently had counted on the interference on the part of the Sublime Porte or of his agents.

The documents which I now must give are of great interest not only on account of their subject, but because they reveal to us the alarm which the gradual growth of British rule in India had caused at Constantinople.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

PERA OF CONSTANTINOPLE:
3rd October, 1777.

GENTLEMEN,

On the 26th August, I received from the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Weymouth a copy of the orders sent out by the East India Company to her several presidencies for

putting a stop to the trade carried on from India by the port of Suez, a practice against which the Ottoman Porte had made very heavy complaints. His Lordship did at the time recommend it to my particular care and attention to procure such protection as may effectually secure the property of His Majesty's subjects in such ships and cargoes as may have been dispatched from India for Suez previous to the arrival of the said orders, also to obtain from the East India Company the privilege of passing the dispatches under their seal to and from the East Indies by the way of Suez. I have already had the honour to acquaint his Lordship with the different steps that have been taken in this business, and have mentioned some reasons which make me apprehensive that strong objections will be made by the Porte to his granting the second article of my demands. Thus far, Gentlemen, I have not been able to obtain an answer to a memorial on this subject presented to the Porte, immediately after receiving his Lordship's commands; and it is highly probable I shall be obliged to take an audience of the Grand Vizier in order, if possible, to obviate every difficulty at a conference. But as this will occasion an expence which I cannot in justice pass to the Levant Company, I think it necessary to inform you of the situation, the rather because it may be conducive to the success of my application that some presents may be made to the leading men, without which few matters out of the common course are ever obtained at this Court. It is with the utmost reluctance that I point out a matter which I have hitherto carefully avoided in all my transactions, and I refer it to you, Gentlemen, to determine how far the interests of the East India Company may make it eligible at present to employ this mode, in case nothing else will operate. For my part I shall do everything in my power, by escorting all my industry and the influence of His Majesty's Ambassador in transacting this business, and it will afford me intimate satisfaction, if in discharge of my duty, I can any ways forward the interests of such a respectable body as the East India Company.

I have etc.,

R. AINSLIE.

MEMORIAL.

20th November, 1777.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS.

On the 8th of May last, I received from the Sublime Porte a friendly Memorial, in order to be transmitted to my Court, which Memorial contained an intimation that several merchant ships, belonging to the subjects of Great Britain, were arrived at Suez from different parts of India, which practice the Sublime Porte, for very good reasons contained in the abovementioned Memorial, could not approve, and desired that the same might be prevented in future. I had the honor of presenting to your Highness, on the 26th August last, the very friendly answer of my Court, who, in compliance with the request of the Sublime Porte had already dispatched two different ships to India with orders, to be published at our several settlements, prohibiting all English merchant ships proceeding on the Red Sea further than the port of Judda. In my Memorial presented on this occasion I mentioned that these orders could not possibly arrive at the place of their destination before the month of May next, and it made some requisitions which are founded in the strictest justice. The ready compliance which my Court has shown to the wishes of the Sublime Porte, without mentioning our right to the navigation of the Red Sea, is a mark of friendship good will which has so long a time been subsisted between our Courts will not allow me room to suspect that my requisition in favour of the subjects of my Sovereign will be refused. I have no doubt but the cause, which has prevented the Porte from giving

an answer to my abovementioned Memorial, must have been a multiplicity of business, and also on account of the Ramdersan which has fallen in this interval, but that being now over, I beseech your Highness to give an answer to the abovementioned Memorial so soon as may be convenient, that the same may be communicated to my Court.

Your Highness' devoted Servant

The English Ambassador,

R. AINSLIE.

Translation of the Ottoman Porte's Answer to His Excellency's Memorial, dated 26th August, 1777.

Our friend, the English Ambassador, has presented a Memorial to the Sublime Porte, in which he sets forth that his Majesty the King of Great Britain, sensible that the resort of the English merchants to the Port of Suez is contrary to custom, and prejudicial to the political constitution of the Sublime Porte, has made it an object of his particular attention to give his orders forbidding this practice, and the said Ambassador likewise prays that the Sublime Porte would, for the speedy forwarding of letters from the Courts of India, give permission that any of their packet boats might in case of necessity put into the Port of Suez.

The prohibition issued by the King of Great Britain, by which English ships from India are forbid to touch at the Port of Suez is an act which indicates his Majesty's intention ever to remove every accident which might cause a coldness between the two Courts, and which has given the Sublime Porte the highest satisfaction. The navigation of the packet boats, with letters from India to the Port of Suez, being, as has been already fully set forth in the last representation made to our friend the Ambassador, not customary, and the Sublime Porte, being apprehensive of worse consequences, it is with the greatest reluctance that the Porte can resolve to consent to such an innovation. However, the Sublime Porte, in consideration of the constant friendship and good understanding reciprocally subsisting between the two Courts, is induced to consent to the following expedient, *viz.*, that whensoever it shall be necessary to send any person from the Courts of India with dispatches of importance for the English Court, on the messenger's arrival at the Port, of Judda, the Pashaw of that place shall take care to send him with his dispatches to Suez, on board some Turkish vessel trading to that port when the Custom Master and the other officers shall be careful to forward him on his way either to Cairo or to wherever else he may be going; and to this end, the Sublime Porte hereby informs its friend, the Ambassador, of its readiness to ensue the several orders: the one to be delivered to the Pashaw of Judda and to the Governors and Bay of Cairo, and the other directed to the Judge and Custom-Master of Suez.

(Received the 30th November, 1777.)

MEMORIAL

2nd December, 1777.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

The Sublime Porte's answer to my Memorial, dated the 26th August, respecting the Navigation of the Red Sea was transmitted to me the day before yesterday. I shall not fail to forward the propositions therein contained to my Court by the first conveyances. Your Highness may be assured that, as you are favorably pleased to agree to this requisition made in favour of the subjects of my Sovereign,—whilst they conform to the political constitution of the Sublime Porte in the case of packet boats dispatched from India,—my Court, fully

possessed with the same sentiments of amity, will never form pretensions which shall not be founded in the strictest justice. It is the custom that the orders from my Court to the different settlements in India cannot arrive at the places of their destination before the month of May next. It is, therefore, not impossible but in the interval some of the subjects of my Royal Master, ignorant of these orders and not informed of the intentions of the Sublime Porte, may have dispatched one or more ships for the Port of Suez. If ever this should really be the case, it is indispensably necessary and a part of my duty to represent to your Highness that if these ships should on their arrival at Suez be ill-treated and forced to return without being received into the said port, at a season of the year when contrary winds blow for months together, and after a long and dangerous voyage, they would be innocently exposed to most heavy damages to inevitable danger, so that not only the prosperity of the subjects of the King, our master would be prejudiced thereby, but even the lives of those on board would be exposed. I, therefore, beseech your Highness to grant a Royal Mandate, directed to the Pashaw and Ali Bey, of Cairo, in order that, if any vessel under the above description should immediately arrive in the interval, they may not be treated with rigour and asperity, but may be allowed to enter the port, and may be treated in the same manner as those ships which have formerly imported there, this indulgence to continue on till the publication of the order from my Court in India shall take place.

Yours, etc.,

R. AINSLIE

*Extract of a Letter from Sir Robert Ainslie to Lord Viscount Weymouth,
dated Pera of Constantineple, 3rd December, 1777.*

The repeated promises of the Reis Effendi to answer the demands in my Memorial, dated the 26th August, having all proved without effect, it became indispensible to address the Grand Vizir. But, in order to have as little as possible the air of making a complaint against the Reis Effendi, a step often productive of great inconvenience, I wrote to the Vizir, and in my Memorial, dated 20th ultimo (of which I have the honor to send your Lordship a copy, enclosed No. 1) endeavoured to make that minister sensible of the impropriety of delaying this answer any longer, as also of the justice of my demands. This Memorial, my Lord, was well received by the Reis Effendi, to whom all our applications are directed under a flying seal: and an answer was sent to me on the 30th of which the enclosed No. 2 is a literal translation. Your Lordship will perceive how tenacious the Porte is of her resolution to hinder the ship of Christian Powers from navigating in the Red Sea beyond Jedda. I do not know how far the temperament proposed may suit the purposes of the East India Company for sending their dispatches, but it is certain that this Court will to the utmost obstruct the passage of even the packet boats to Suez in future, and that nothing less than a total want of means to hinder it has hitherto operated this admission there, under the protection of the Beys, who found their interest in disobeying the orders sent from hence.

As no notice is taken in this answer of my demand on behalf of such of his Majesty's subjects who may be dispatched in Merchant ships, previous to the arrival of orders lately sent to India, that they may be allowed to enter at Suez, and be treated there with the same indulgence shewn before the prohibition took place, I again addressed to the Vizir yesterday, and your Lordship will find enclosed a copy of this Memorial, No. 3. I am told by the Drugoman, who represented it to the Reis Effendi (because Pisani, the first Drugoman, is indisposed), the contents were by no means relished, and he could obtain no other answer than that it should be delivered, which is the more extraordinary as this minister did not scruple

at first to acknowledge the justice and necessity of granting this indulgence. I shall lose no time in settling this affair in the best manner as soon as possible. If the Porte grants my demand, packet boats with dispatches will profit of it at least next spring. This will give the East India Company time to take proper measures in future, and to me to receive your Lordship's instructions on the temperament proposed by the Porte. I must refer to my next letter for the definitive answer, which I am convinced will not be obtained but in a conference with the ministry.

1779. October C. 14th Oct. No. 2.

Paragraphs of letters from His Excellency Sir Robert Ainslie, Ambassador at Constantinople, under several dates, *viz.* : —

The 1st February 1779. "The Porte has officially acquainted me with her resolution to obstruct the trade carried on between this Empire and India by way of Suez, and that orders will be sent to Egypt by a Capigi Bashi to confiscate all Ships and Cargo under Christian Flags, who shall henceforth Navigate in the red sea beyond Judda and Mocha, and reduce the marines to slavery, as pirates and rebels. In consequence of this determination a Ship was actually freighted for the purpose of conveying their Officer to Alexandria, and he is still detained by stormy weather, but is to proceed with the first fair wind. I beg, my dear Sir, you will acquaint the gentlemen of the Factory with this piece of interesting intelligence which they would do well to communicate to all their friends at Bussora in order to its being transmitted to India."

1781. O. C. 27th April. No. 7.

Translation of a Firman from the Grand Signor.

The Sultan absolutely forbids that any Frank's ships be permitted under any pretence whatsoever to come to Suez or to be concerned in any Trade from the Judda to Suez openly or secretly. This is decisive.

The Suez Sea is reserved for the holy Pilgrimage to Mecca and all such as are content to admit Frank's ships to a passage and do not exert themselves in preventing it are guilty of Infidelity to their religion, to their Sovereign, and to all Mohometans. Such as do not attend to this express Command, so important to our State and Religion, will most certainly meet with severe punishment in this World and in the World to come. Do for ever with zeal and ardour as we command. Our Royal orders are gone forth and this is our will.

To the Honourable, sublime and authorized Councillor, who rules the whole World, that directs all affairs with the greatest wisdom with the greatest integrity, and the deepest foresight, ordained by the Sovereign Voice, support of the Empire and its Glory surrounded by the Royal Grace, to our Noble Vizier Ismael Pashaw whose high splendor may God continue.

To the Judge of Judges of the Mussulmans, and Commander of Commanders, Spirit of Religion which elevates the Justice of the Law, Heir to the Wisdom of the Prophets and the apostles, engaged in the execution of the sovereign commands, the present Judge of Cairo may his honors and his merits increase.

To the Hon'ble Commanders supplicated by the Great Mighty, and esteemed, engaged in the execution of the sovereign Commands, Chief of the Country and Commanders of Egypt that God may perpetuate their Happiness.

To the Chief of the glorious and honoured of all the most esteemed and noble, Cassigny Bassa of our Porte, and our Director Superintendent and Envoy from our most high Porte Mustapha Tahess, may his Glory be perpetual.

To the most esteemed and eminently wise Saadator Fadvide or Beekry.

To the supporters of the four Religions and the wise of Ahzar, that their virtue may be increased.

To the superior of their Sects, Possessors of Command and Orators, the seven Ojacks in Cairo, that there (*viz.*) might may increase. This high and noble command arriving with you will proclaim that Suez, where ships anchor, is the Port of two holy cities which preserve resplendent the Law of the Prophet, and is established for spreading that Justice which elevates the illuminated Mecca and Medina the honored, that God may preserve them noble until the end of the world.

All that has been already said is founded upon what I am going to say. It never was the custom that ships of foreign Nations should navigate in the said sea. The Regulation from India was that the English ships and others should not pass Judda with their Cargoes; lately in the Reign of Ally Bey, who was murdered afterwards, there arrived a small English vessel from Abissinia at Suez, with presents to him from persons unknown, telling him they came to look for freight; and this having been permitted, the English thought that they might at any time and in future ages come again. Therefore they soon came from India in Ships loaded with piecegoods and other merchandize, and Mohommed Bey, that father of gold, misled by his own avarice and by men who made it appear to him that, under the title of Customs, there might be great advantages gained, permitted ships belonging to the English and the other nations to come successively to the Port of Suez. Intelligence of this reached our royal ears, and these things contrary to royal politics and to our Religion came to our knowledge. We therefore absolutely command that after this day they shall not approach Suez, for we will not on any account admit of it, and we order that they do retire to their countries. We have recommended this affair repeatedly to the English Ambassador at Constantinople, ordering him to writeto his Sovereign to prevent ships from coming to Suez, it being contrary to custom and to the declared Royal will, and the said Emlassador showed the answers which he had received from his Court and from the India Company which answer set forth that private merchants were strictly forbid to approach Suez after the first day of the Greek year which commences the first Day of December, and should any disobey this order their effects might be seized, and their crews imprisoned, and notice be sent us to our noble Porte. We have inquired of those to whom nothing is unknown, those wise persons who study history and it appears to them from the example of past ages, that the Frank nations in secret policy subject themselves to all manner of fatigues and trouble by Sea and Land, taking draught of country and of sea coasts, reserving them till they have an opportunity of invading and taking the kingdom as they have done in India and other parts. Memorials have come before us from His Highness Soron, Sheriff of the present exalted Mecca, setting forth that the Franks are not content with having the India Trade, but that they have taken in coffee, and other goods at Yamaum and carried them to Suez which has very much prejudiced Judda. The anger of His Highness kindled and he reflected on the proceedings of the Dutch heretofore in India; they suffered great fatigues and under long voyages, declaring themselves to be merchants and alledging that they would never be guilty of treachery or mischief, sending persons before them to set forth their wisdom and uprightness. The Indians were like beasts and saw not their cunning till they got possession of their countries such as Ahamadabad, Bengal, Belnas, Surat, and Madras: and the Franks got the command of these people, and took the cities of India by their knavery and underhand dealings in the beginning of the 400 in the time of Fatmon. In like manner they entered the city of Damascus under the appearance of merchants who were to be guilty of no treachery or mischief, paying all just duties but there happening at this time some

animosities between Fatmon and the Abassen, the Franks politically took advantage of them, seized Damascus and Jerusalem which remained in their hands for a course of a hundred years, and in the beginning of the 600 year there appeared Joseph Saladin (whom may God have received in his Glory) and the Curds and the Febawy, who freed Damascus and Jerusalem at the expence of a thousand misfortunes and a thousand battles, having lost men without number. This History does not serve for us, besides this, it is not unknown to the illuminated memory that enmity is in the hearts of Christians against the Turks, and that they see with an evil eye Jerusalem in the hands of the Turks, God grant such as convert good into evil and are content to permit the Franks to come to Suez may be punished and despised in this world and the next and be chastized by the Almighty for ever; and you are to be on your guard against India to the end of time, and suffer not the Franks, or their ships to go or come, and whosoever help them under and let them receive chastisement such as never did happen nor even will again. To the high Sovereign there wants no force. We have sent forth this our Royal Command, which can do all this and more, and you cannot in any manner justify yourselves, should you not obey it, and particularly the English ships and other Frank ships when they come to the Port of Suez, you are to seize and imprison their captains, because it is declared that they are pirates and rebels by the declaration their Ambassador and the answer of their Court, and that they are rebels to the two courts and deserve imprisonment and confiscation of their effect. Give notice of this to the Sublime Porte and we shall then know what to do; and you are to seize their ships, and effects, and no one is to interfere in any respect in releasing them. You that are Vizier know the pleasure of the Sublime Porte and the nature of their intrigues and you are a great and a wise people and Ojacks, and are well enlightened, and we recommend this affair to you again with the greatest force once for all, and strictly lay our commands on you in this business so dangerous to one religion and kingdom. Without the least mistake do a'l what we have pronounced and be fearful of my voice, otherwise, by God, I swear that every thing that can annoy you will arrive, and we shall inflict on you the greatest torments, and we again repeat all we have said to the wise who know the Books and the Mahometan Religion, and if your councils are not attended to, advise our Sublime Porte of all that may happen, And Health, &c., &c.

A Copy.

(Sd.) ARTHUR CUTHBERT.

The Governor-General and Council at Fort William were, in the course of the next few years, to hear a good deal about the troubles of English travellers in Egypt, and none could have been more eloquent than those of O'Donnell and his friend—Mrs. Fay. Before closing this chapter, however, I will venture to give them two old letters, which will show the condition of Egypt at this time.

1779. O. C. 23rd December. No. 201.

CAIRO :
28th August, 1779.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL OF BENGAL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I am not permitted to hand you a detailed account of the outrages which have been committed to all the English subjects and to their property this year in Cairo. Their effects

have been plundered, their shipping seized, and their persons put under arrest. It has required very large sacrifices of money to obtain a release for the gentlemen bound to India, and for the shipping to convey them. Added to this we were all forced to sign an obligation that neither of us shall even demand any redress—nor think of any retaliation, but be even answerable if any other nation should make any reprisals upon them, and I am kept as an hostage to guarantee the faithful observance of this obligation. My character of Agent to the Hon'ble the East India Company has brought me into this dilemma, and out of which, as well as the distress it has thrown my affairs into, nothing can extricate me but your protection, Hon'ble Gentlemen, and favour. That I foresaw many of these difficulties from the conduct of Government last year, I appeal to letters I had the honour to write to Mr. Barwell—and to Mr. Ellerington, dated the 17th of July 1778—and to Messrs. de Castro, Pilling, and Defries at Madrass. Nothing could be more positive than the language I wrote in, and I trust that these will prove that, if my advice had been followed, none of the misfortunes which have happened would have ever been known. I mention it to prove that I am a victim to the misconduct of other people. I do not refer to the advice I have quoted, those gentlemen have had no concern in the transactions of this year, but my advice was general.

Your dispatches by Mr. Grueber, went forward from Damiata on the 15th of April, but as I received no orders from the Court of Directors on any Advices which could warrant the detention of Captain Waugh longer than the first term at so great an expence I thought my Duty to discharge him. He sailed on the 28th of July before my letter could reach him or they miscarried upon the (Desert).

I have the Honour to be,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your devoted and humble Servant,
GEORGE BALDWIN.

O. C. 27th April 1781.

CAIRO.
22nd June, 1780

To

SIR EDWARD HUGHES, KNIGHT OF THE BATH, &c. &c., &c.

SIR,

Since I did myself the honour of writing to you from the Mocka of the 14th April, I have met with many embarrassing and unexpected adventures, which have considerably retarded my voyage, and as it may be of use in forming a judgment of what may be expected from the people of this country on future occasions by such persons as may come this way, I shall take the Liberty of being circumstantial in my Detail, and rather incur the Imputation of prolixity than of neglect in leaving any thing material untold. As the wind blew fresh and very fair when the *Coventry* got into the Latitude of Jedda, Captain Mitchell thought it advisable (it being very late in the season) to pass that Port and push for Suez. On the 8th May in the morning we had reached within a few leagues of Tor, but it blowing very hard from the Northward, and being engaged amongst a number of dangerous shoals, the Captain thought proper to bear away for a small Bay about seven Leagues to leeward. The blowing weather continued, but we put to sea on the 19th to endeavour to get up, but were obliged to put back to the Bay, where we remained to the 23rd; and, it continuing to blow hard from the Northward, Captain Mitchell weighed and bore away for Cosire, where we came to an anchor the next day, though we had not the least knowledge of the road by which we were to get to Cairo. Sooner than return

to India with the Dispatches, we resolved to proceed, and to our great satisfaction there came off an officer from the Governor, who informed us that we might upon Camels reach the Nile in two or three days and without difficulty reach Cairo by water in nine or ten days more. Cosire has a small Fort, partly built of stone and partly of mud, in a very ruinous situation. There is close to it a village composed of a few miserable hovels, mostly tumbling down. There happened to be a Caravan there at that time which had brought grain from the Banks of the Nile to load a barque bound for Yambo on the opposite coast. I mention the circumstance, as I am sure from the appearance of Cosire, it would not at any time furnish any mode of Conveyance for many people. We went on shore the next Day and made a visit to the Governor who received us in a friendly manner, and promised us every assistance in forwarding our journey. He came on board the *Conventry* the next Day, and agreed for furnishing an Escort of two officers and ten Guards with Camels for us and our Baggage. He insisted that such a number of Guards was necessary, tho' the Day before he assured us that there was not the least Danger in travelling without any, and, tho' he was exorbitant in his charges for them, by what we would afterwards learn, he gave us neither Guards nor Camels but such as belonged to the Caravan and which must have returned with it, had we not been with them. The next morning we set out on our Journey and in three Days arrived at a Place called Kenna on the Banks of the Nile. Our Journey for the first half way was thro' villages intensely hot, surrounded with very high mountains and the remainder over a barren desert; the fatigue exceeded any thing that I had ever experienced. The Day after our arrival we waited on the Bey, were well received by him, and on our Return to a House allotted to us, we sent him a Present of some fire arms and Muslin, and we thought he was pleased as he soon after sent us some Sherbut and Sweet Meats. We were to have visited his Brother in the evening, but he sent an Excuse for not seeing us, and informed us that he expected a present. We therefore sent our Interpreter to him with a case of silver-mounted pistols and some Muslin. The Interpreter reported to us that he was not pleased with this present, and here began the game which was played on us at Kenna, and in which we have the greatest reason to believe that our Interpreter, who came with us from Madras, acted a Capital part; but independant of this, he has in every other respect behaved in so infamous a manner that I hope no other Gentleman will have the misfortune of falling into his hands. That night there were Guards placed over our House and the Bey sent for our Interpreter, and as he said, threatened him violently; however the next morning we were informed we must pay a large Sum of Money or that Camels would be sent to our Door to carry us back over the Desert. As this was threatening us with certain assassination, we found ourselves under the necessity of submitting to the payment of a sum of money, and, as they came down from twenty thousand Dollars which they at first demanded to three thousand, we agreed to ransoming ourselves at that sum. The Bey's Ministers came to us in the Evening and received two thousand five hundred Dollars, (all the ready money we allowed we had,) the other five hundred to be paid at Cairo, which now we find they dare never demand here, but we suppose it to be the share of the plunder allotted to our Interpreter, as he would make us believe that he is responsible for it. The next day they shipped us in a small Boat, and gave us some Provisions to carry us to Gunna about thirty Leagues down the River. On our arrival Mustapha Bey who governs there, received us with the greatest humanity, gave us one of his own boats to carry us to Cairo, some Provisions for immediate use, and money to buy more, for tho' we had some money left, we were obliged to keep it a Secret and from none more than from our Interpreter. On the 14th, in the Morning, we arrived in Cairo, and that Evening waited on Ibrahim Bey who received us courteously, and promised us an answer next Day to the Letter we delivered to

him. He likewise desired me to wait on him next morning that he might send a person with me to the Basha at the Castle. Mr. Shippey fortunately stayed at Home. The Bassa's Minister, to whom I was presented, received me very politely, gave me Coffee and desired me to deliver him the letters for the Basha. He carried them to him and after some time I was ordered into his Presence, when without even waiting for my making any obeisance to him, he flew into a more violent passion and asked how I dared to come here, and to sail up the Red Sea with two ships of Force. I answered him, that I came with Letters to him, and not as a Merchant, as trade has been forbidden with Cairo as well in India as from the Porte, and that the King's ship has been sent to carry the greater appearance of respect for the Power to whom I brought the Letters. He said I was a traitor, and that our ambassador had represented to the Porte, that all English coming up the Red Sea were Rebels and should be treated as such. . . . Without any further question, he said something in the Turkish Language to his Attendants, two of whom seized me by the arms and carried me Prisoner into a distant apartment in the Castle. I must confess for some minutes I was not without the most serious apprehensions of Death or Disgrace, for there was no Violence not to be dreaded from an arbitrary Turk of the Bassa's Age and Rank, when he could so far forget the Dignity of his Character as to foam at the mouth with rage. In about an hour my two Interpreters (people of Cairo), as I could not depend upon my Armenian, who had come with me to the Castle, were permitted to see me; they informed me that the Basha continued in violent anger, but that my person was safe from any further insult. The Beys next day so strenuously urged my being delivered up to them, that I was discharged from the Castle about 10 O'Clock at night and marched to Ibrahim Bey's under a strong Guard. The next morning I was allowed to go from the Bey's to Signor Rozetty, an Italian Merchant of much influence with the Beys being security that I will not attempt to escape from Cairo. The Basha and Beys have decided that I shall be sent on the Care of an Officer to Constantinople and delivered up to our ambassador there a Person that has transgressed the orders of the Porte issued in consequence of his application.

After all that has happened I cannot blame the Basha for the measure of his severity so much as for the manner of it, and I doubt not, Sir, that you will be of my opinion when you have perused the enclosed Translation of a Firmaun from the Porte, and have considered how little the Grand Signor hesitates in striking off the head of a Basha who disobeys his orders. I am perfectly easy as to my Destination, I aver that my being sent to Constantinople may be of public utility, and perhaps the means of obtaining a firmaun from the Porte, for the Dispatches to and from India to pass unmolested; however I shall endeavour to convince our Ambassador of the necessity of obtaining such a firmaun. The Dispatches and private letters will meet with no extraordinary delay, as Mr. Shippey proceeds with them by the shortest way immediately. The Basha knows of no other person being with the Dispatches but myself and the Beys wish to encourage the English to come here and are most anxiously desirous of promoting a Trade from India, which I am informed they hope to do as imperial Bottoms. You will see by the enclosed firmaun that religious prejudices have had their weight with the Grand Signor in totally forbidding Christians to be permitted to come higher than Jedda, and yet the Basha says, as I am informed, that he would permit English people with Dispatches to come in country Boats to Suez from Jedda. Here is a contradiction which convinces me that he and the Beys are more apprehensive that their Trade should suffer from our Force, than that their holy land should be defiled by our feet. I have taken the liberty of writing to Captain Mitchell to request that he will go down the Red Sea as soon as possible, and leave the Ketch at Jedda to receive dispatches, and should any come they will be forwarded to her, I have that the Beys it will be complied with, and Signior Rozetty has done the same, otherwise we should be kept

prisoners at Cairo till Intelligence arrives that the *Coventry* has left the Red Sea. These People are such a Compound of obstinacy and Ignorance, that it appears to me absolutely necessary towards gaining the intended object to give up points to them, the more especially at this Crisis when (as you may see, Sir, by the News Papers, which go in the *Coventry*) it is very possible that a Rupture with the Dutch may render speedy advices from England of the greatest consequence.

We have intelligence that the Plague rages at Smyrna, but they say it has not as yet reached Constantinople.

I have the honour to be Sir,
With the greatest Respect,
Your most obedient and most humble Servant,
(Sd.) JAMES WOOLEY.

There arrived here last night accounts from Alexandria that three English Gentlemen, whose names we cannot learn, arrived three Days ago in a small vessel from Leghorn, two of them came on shore but not hearing of my situation returned on Board ship and sailed, it is supposed, for Aleppo. They were bound to India, but we cannot learn whether they had dispatches or not.

We set out for Alexandria this Evening not having had Permission before.

3. THE ILL-FATED VOYAGE TO CAIRO.

The ship on which O'Donnell embarked with his fortunes was called the *Nathalia*, and its Captain and nominal Owner was a Dutch man of the name of John Werner Vander Velden. Of this worthy it is on record that he had been a member of Council at the Dutch Settlement, when he had also filled the office of Master Attendant of the Harbour.* Having fallen counter to the Dutch authorities, he had placed himself under English protection. In the July of 1778 his ship had been seized by the English off Barnagore, on the suspicion that it contained French Property.†

From Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* we hear a few facts about the early part of the voyage. The ship was freighted from Serampore, and as the relations between England and Holland were at this time strained, else bore

* On November 6th, 1779, a letter was read in the Prov. G. Lodge of Bengal from the Grand Lodge at Chinsurah relating to the ill-behaviour of Brother John Werner Velden, a member of one of its dependent Lodges.

O. C. 1778. 23rd July. No 6.

† HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

In consequence of the orders of your Hon'ble Board, signified to us by the Secretary in his letter of this day to Mr. A. L. Gilbert to examine the papers and any other proofs which Mr. Vander Velden might produce in support of his claim to the vessel seized at Barnagore as French property, we have examined the several papers and documents produced by him, whereof we have the honour to enclose you the particular detail, signed by the Dutch Translator—from the whole of which it appears that no other is interested with him in the said vessel and cargo, and we have further his word of honour which he is ready to corroborate on oath that the vessel is wholly his, and that not only no Frenchman but no person whatsoever is concerned therein. He says that when in the month of February last year

the Danish Flag. Mrs. Fay is mistaken when she describes Vander Velden (whom she calls Vanderfield) as a Dane. She writes:—

"The East India Company sent out positive orders some time ago, to prohibit the trade to Suez, as interfering with their privileges; but as there never was a law made, but means might be found to evade it, several English merchants freighted a ship (the *Nathalia*) from Serampore, a Danish Settlement on the Hooghly, fourteen miles above Calcutta, whose Commander, Vanderfield, a Dane, passed for owner of the ship and cargo. Mr. O'Donnell, one of the persons concerned, and who had property on board to the amount of above £20,000, came as passenger, as did Mr. Barrington, the real supercargo, also a freighter, and two Frenchmen, brothers, named Chevalier. They left Bengal on New Year's day, 1779, and came first to Calicut on the coast of Malabar, where they arrived in February; found English, French, Danish, and Portuguese factors, or Consuls there; and trade in a flourishing state, so not apprehending any danger, they entered into a contract with one Isaacs, a rich old Jew, who has great influence with the Government, to freight them with pepper for Bengal on their return from Suez; that being the greatest town on the coast for that commodity. The price was settled, and £700 paid as earnest. This business arranged, they proceeded on their voyage; and having luckily disposed of some part of the

he purchased the property which Mr. Chevalier had in the ship, the same was registered at the Council Office at Chinsurah.

It remains with your Hon'ble Board to determine upon the property of the vessel, whether French or Dutch; and it has been our duty to lay before you all the lights given us by Mr. Vander Velden.

We are, etc.,

A. L. GILBERT.

GEORGE SHEER.

O. C. 1778. 23rd July. No 3.

CHANDERNAGORE :

23rd July, 1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

The officer, whom I sent by your orders to take possession of the vessel lying at Barnagore, has returned having effected that service. His report by the Captain's information, is that the vessel is Dutch property, the owner Mr. Vanderfield. The Captain, a native of Brabant, by name Francis Calve, produced a Dutch pass. Her cargo consists of salt and chant (?) shells. The ship is called the *Natilis*. She is at present in possession of a sergeant and 20 seapoys.

I shall wait your further orders on that head, having the honour to be

ALEX. DOW,

L.-Col. Commanding.

Her cargo has been almost all unloaded.

In 1676 Master passed Barnagore and found there a Dutch establishment for killing pigs. In 1706 Hamilton found the Dutch in possession of a garden-house at Barnagore, and he described the place as "a school of vice." The English possession in N. India were defined in 1730 as "Northward to near Barnagore, eastwards towards the Lake [*i.e.*, the Salt Lake], and southward to Kidderpore." In 1779 the Dutch exchanged Barnagore for certain lands at Chinsurah. In my *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta* there is on p. 238 an obvious but unfortunate misprint:—In line 10 "1767" should read "1676."

cargo at this place, reached Suez with the remainder in the beginning of June, landed their goods to the amount of at least £40,000, and prepared to cross the desert on the way to Cairo."

Of two of the travellers on board the *Nathalia* a few words deserve to be said: I refer to the "two Frenchmen, brothers, named Chevalier." They were two sons of Pierre Renault de St. Germain, "Directeur-General de Chandénagar et des Comptoirs Adjacents," who had so bravely defended that town and fortress against Clive and Watson in 1757. The "Chilly" of O'Donnell's account had been until quite recently chief of the French Settlement at Saida-bad (Kasimbazar). Mathieu François Xavier styled Renault de Chilly was the fourth son, but his brother Renault de St. Germain may have been any one of his five brethren.

After "a tedious and perilous voyage of near five months" the *Nathalia* reached Suez. The story of what befell the party in Egypt may now be best told by O'Donnell himself in the letters he addressed to the Governor-General and Council on his return to Fort William. Mrs. Fay's account in a few details varies from that given by O'Donnell.

12th June, 1780.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I beg leave to lay before the Hon'ble Board the accompanying account of the fallacious and treacherous treatment of the Government of Egypt to me on my way to England through that country, after granting every necessary firmand and licence, and giving the most solemn and sacred assurances of protection and safety in order to induce me and the other unhappy sufferers to trust ourselves and property into their hands.

As a British subject I humbly solicit the Hon'ble Board to grant me letters of request and reprisal, which I conceive I am justly entitled to demand agreeable to a statute made under Henry V. C. 7.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

JOHN O'DONNELL.

On the 24th May the Danish ship *Nathalia*, commanded by Mr. Vander Velden, with whom I came a passenger from Bengal, anchored in the Suez Roads, after a tedious and perilous voyage of near five months.

Immediately on our arrival, an express was despatched to the Head Bey of Cairo, acquainting him thereof, and requesting the usual commands and permission of Government for landing the cargo, agreeable to the stipulations and customs observed with regard to the English the preceding years; and, in consequence of this application, His Highness the Bashaw's sanction and orders were obtained for debarking our goods; and strong injunctions

accompanied the same from the Bey to his Commandant at Suez to comply with the Bashaw's commands, afford us his protection, and render us every assistance in his power. Relying on these voluntary and ready assurances, we landed our several goods, and delivered them into the hands of the Custom Master, who acts for the Bashaw of Suez, and is one of his officers sent down to receive the customs of the coffee. He after having weighed and sealed our bales, delivered them in that condition into the charge of the Bey's own caravan, which was sent down for the purpose of transporting them to the Custom House of Cairo, where they were to answer for the established duties and other charges, as specified in a treaty entered into between Mahomed Bey and the English in March 1775, ratified in the most solemn manner, which still remains on record and valid at Cairo, and has hitherto always been referred to and decisive, with respect to any differences between the merchants from India and the officers of Government.

On the 18th of June, in the evening, the caravan set off for Cairo, and the gentlemen of our ship accompanied it. The next day, as the morning dawned, we were attacked by a party of about three hundred armed Arabs, who soon took and possessed themselves of the whole caravan, no resistance whatever being made by the Bey's people, who were on the contrary seen assisting in this treacherous business. Fatigued from travelling all night on horseback, about three o'clock, I got into a basket carried on a camel's back, in order to take a little repose; and, as soon as day-light appeared, I was roused out of my sleep by a constant firing. I instantly alighted, called for my servant, who had my horse and pistols, but, in the general confusion, could not find him. He, as I afterwards learned was shot through the arm, and my horse and pistols were taken from him by one of the Bey's people. Unknowing what to do, I gazed about for a few moments, and saw the Arabs closely pursuing some of my unfortunate companions, who distinguished themselves by separating from the crowd. Unarmed as I was, my attempting to join them could answer no end, but would be imminently risking my life. I therefore resolved on returning towards Suez, and on my way met Captain Waugh of the *Britannia* Packet. When we were at the distance of about three miles, we stopped and looked back to see what became of the caravan, for at first I really imagined that the Arabs only intended to plunder it and then escape with the booty. However in this conjecture I was much mistaken, for they soon arranged every disorder occasioned by the attack, and passed with the whole of the caravan within a quarter of a mile of the town of Suez towards Torr, which they chiefly inhabit. They sent about thirty armed men on dromedaries after us, who soon overtook, stripped and plundered us of our watches, clothes, etc., and often threatened to cut us to

pieces: even the unfeeling rascals had the inhumanity to take the shoes off our feet, shirts from our backs, and covering off our heads, and left us in this helpless condition to return to Suez about thirty miles under the intense influence of the sun, which equally affected us by its vertical rays from the heavens as by its reflected heat from the burning sands. We also suffered much from thirst, which was beyond idea painful and troublesome.

But, however severe our misfortunes have been, yet the cruel fate of our wretched fellow travellers has been far more pitiable and severe. As soon as the following persons, Messrs. Barrington, Jenkins, Vander Velden (owner and Captain of the *Nathalia*), Chilly and St. Germaine (brothers), and an Armenian linguist with two servants, were stripped and plundered, thinking themselves almost as near to Cairo as to Suez, and fearful again of falling into the hands of the Arabs, they unfortunately determined on prosecuting their journey. Mr. Barrington was left behind the night of the 16th, unable to proceed a step further. The next day Messrs. Vander Velden and Jenkins dropped through extreme fatigue; the latter was much wounded. On the 18th, in the morning, Mr. Chilly and the servants were left under the shade of a tree: * the former was cut in several places by a scimitar: the Armenian next fell, and Mr. Germaine at length arrived at a watering place within a few miles of Cairo where he received a little refreshment, and the next day was brought to town in the most deplorable condition, rather dead than alive. He is now, with much care, providentially recovered, but is ever lamenting the cruel fate of his unhappy brother, whom he always loved with the truest affection. What his pangs and feelings must have been, when he was under the absolute necessity of leaving him in such a situation to his destiny, without a hope of ever seeing him more or even saving himself, and what must have been the sufferings of the rest who perished. I can easily feel but not so readily describe.

When Captain Waugh at last reached Suez, about five o'clock in the evening of the 16th, in the most distressed situation, almost exhausted with fatigue, we waited on the Commandant, acquainted him with our misfortunes, and requested his assistance; who, far from rendering us any, received us in a most haughty manner, and would not even suffer us to go on board the ship to get clothes and refreshment, but insisted on our remaining ashore without any conveniency whatever.

I offered to assist him with men and arms from the Bengal ships then in harbour (whose officers would have most cheerfully with themselves and crews co-operated with him), if he would attempt the recovery of the caravan, which was then within a quarter of a mile of Suez, and in sight, but he

* O'Donnell does not give the full details of this tragedy. See Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters*, Letter IX, or *Bengal: P. & P.*, Vol. II., pp. 394-97.

rejected this proposal, and though importuned in the most pressing manner to permit me to go, or send to the vessels for what armed men could be spared in order to make an effort myself for the retaking our property which I sincerely believe would have succeeded, as the Arab soldiers, having found some chests of liquors, were, by the quantity they drank and the fatigue of travelling all day, in a very defenceless situation. Yet to this and every other entreaty he would scarce listen, which makes it too obvious how far he must have been interested in the secret part he had taken in our ruin. For without his knowledge it is hardly reasonable to suppose that so large a party as three hundred armed Arabs could have been privately concealed at or about Suez, there being no habitable place nearer to it than Cairo, about 70 miles distance to the westward, and Torr, about 80 miles to the north-east. The next day, about 11 o'clock, when the Governor knew that the Arabs had been about ten hours on their way and near thirty miles off, he suffered Captain Waugh to go on his vessel, and contented himself with keeping me ashore (whom he knew to be the principal sufferer in regard to property) as an hostage and guarantee for the peaceable behaviour of our ships, which convinces me that he was strongly apprehensive of our falling upon some measures for doing ourselves justice. But one of the ships coming next day very near the house where I was, and every thing being ready for setting off, I jumped out of the window, got unperceived into the boat, and luckily succeeded in making my escape.

From every circumstance I had reason to think that Government was at the bottom of this business, and their total inactivity on the occasion not sending any force against the Arabs, but on the contrary assisting them with corn and provisions from Suez, all the property belonging to the natives being safely restored, the Bey's camels which were sent back immediately after having lodged the goods at a sufficient distance from us, and the release of the head Shaik Arabs, which were at first, in order to make some shew of being in earnest, imprisoned at Cairo, and other considerations confirmed us in our opinion, and determined me to remain on board ship, until I could know the ultimate resolves of Government in regard to redressing us. However, still in an uncertainty, and hoping that a personal application would have some weight, and induce the Bey to send a party of two or three hundred horse after the goods, which were not a great way from Suez, and which would have been a sufficient number to ensure success against the united force of the Arabs; and moreover urged by the repeated solicitations of Mr. Baldwin and other English Gentlemen at Cairo, I ventured, after my late disaster, over the Desert, and, on my arrival, sent Ibrahim Bey a memorial (a copy of which is contained in pages 11, 12, and 13) setting forth my severe losses, the unparalleled outrage

against the laws of God and man committed by his subjects, and praying for the redress I was entitled to by the 11th article of his predecessor's Agreement with the English which makes him answerable for any losses on the Desert, and from the promises of redress in his answer (a translation of which No. 2 is also inserted in page 13), I believed Government to be sincere, condemned my former suspicions, and doubted not that some reinstatement would be made me, even did the Force, said to be sent against the Arabs, not meet with success, according to the Bey's assurances. But these flattering expectations were soon turned into astonishment, and my former conjectures that Government was at the source of my misfortunes, but for some reasons at the time did not wish to be ostensible, were too strongly and justly confirmed. On the 29th of August, Mr. Moore, the owner of the ship *St. Helena*, was taken up by the Bashaw's people, with the consent of the Beys (as without it he not venture to apprehend any person in the town), carried a prisoner to the castle, and there confined. They were looking for Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Skiddy, and me ; but, timely hearing of the fate of Mr. Moore we secreted ourselves, and evaded their search. With equal amazement and surprize, the news reached us the next day of a ship and the *Nathalia* being seized at Suez by the very force and party, which the Bey in his letter to me falsely affirms were despatched against the Arabs to recover the caravan. Their success in accomplishing this was in consequence of the meanest and most perfidious artifice which put us at Cairo and the gentlemen at Suez off all caution. The Bey represented that the greater part of the goods taken by the Arabs were within a few miles of Suez, and applied to the owners of the vessels for orders to the officers then commanding to assist his people with all the men and arms they could spare and to act jointly with them in the recovery. As soon, therefore, as the officers received those letters, never doubting the sincerity of the scheme and little suspicious of the mind that was so artfully and infamously preparing for their destruction, they were imprudent enough to accept of an invitation from the Bey's Haiâa (or first officer) to an entertainment, and leave their ships. Which was no sooner observed, than a large party were despatched to take possession of them, who concealed their arms, and at first pretended to come with messages from the officers, until they were all admitted, and when they easily effected their internal errand, as little resistance could be made by the few unarmed and unguarded Mussalmen on board. The officers soon perceived their error, and were hurried from the repast, which was made as a bait for their ruin, and with all the other Christians, made prisoner on shore, where they suffered much in their healths from bad water and provisions. They were soon after this ordered up to Cairo, two upon a camel's back, without any covering from a three days' sun or a sufficiency of water to quench their prevalent thirst. At Suez,

on their journey, and through the streets of Cairo, they were insulted, spat upon, and reprobated by the people, as if they had been the most abandoned delinquents.

All the money, plate, and other valuables on board the ships were plundered by the Bey's officers and people, the liquors were drunk by the soldiery, and the vessels were left to the mercy of the crews of several moorish ships in the harbour who even for the sake of mischief committed every possible depredation and spoiled those articles which could not have been of any use to themselves. On board the *Nathalia* I had 2,900 dollars received from Captain Waugh for my bill on Mocha which I wished to remit to Europe, and a new stock of linen which I bought and made up at Suez, but on the general plunder those are all lost. Our servant says (sons of Christians) were against their inclinations notwithstanding tears and deprecations, circumcised and underwent the ceremonies of being made Mussalman.

In the course of some years' residence in India, I had the good fortune to acquire a comfortable independence, and, finding it exceedingly difficult to procure bills or negotiate it to Europe, I was induced to embark in this voyage, as the most eligible mode that then appeared for doing so, and freighted goods on account of myself and others on board the *Nathalia*, a Danish ship, with a view to secure our property from the French. We insured in England against the danger of a merciless sea and navigation, and never suspected that we should be so unaccountably robbed of effects to the value of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in a nation, which I wrongly imagined both civilized and commercial by the way people who have invited and encouraged us to trade with them. Allured by the Bashaw's ready sanction, the Bey's promises of protection of safety, and making no doubt of perfect security, we debarked our goods and delivered them into the charge of the Government. Had the Bey or Bashaw sent a special messenger or letter to forbid our landing ourselves or cargo, or intimated to us the Sublime Porte's disapprobation thereof, we should immediately have left Suez and returned to Judda or Mocha, at either of which we could have sold our goods to a very good advantage. On the contrary, the Bashaw, whom we looked upon as the Grand Seigneur's Viceroy at this place, and the Bey encouraged us to land our goods at their place and carry it up to Cairo without ever once signifying to us of the trades being indicted by the Porte; and the first intimation we had of it was not until the 29th of July, the day on which Mr. Moore was made prisoner, and on the 29th August following we received a copy of the most extraordinary unjust firmand said to be sent from Constantinople (a translation of which, No. 3, is contained in pages 14, 15, 16 and 17). Had the Bey or Bashaw any orders from the Sublime Porte to put a total

stop to this trade, it was, in my humble opinion their indispensable and necessary duty to notify such to us immediately on our arrival at Suez : which would have effectually answered the intended purpose and prevented every fatal consequence which has since happened to us in regard to loss of lives and fortunes : but so far were they from acting ingeniously and honestly that, on the contrary, in order to deceive us and get our persons and property into their power, Government gave its ready approbation and orders for landing our cargo and solemn assurances of protection and safety.

At length Government, being in want of money to carry on a war with an excited Bey in Upper Egypt, considered it to their present advantage to propose the ransom of the ransacked ships and remaining goods for the extravagant sum of about fifty thousand dollars, which sum the Bashaw and Beys have shared amongst themselves. This evidently demonstrates how far they disregard any orders from the Porte, when their interest is in question, whose authority in Egypt has ever been ideal and prostitute their own solemn promises of protection which they gave us, when they have a prospect of gain with impunity.

On the return of Moraud Bey after subduing commotions in Upper Egypt, who tho' not the Sheik Ballao or Principal is yet the active and efficient person in Government, it is well known that sixty camels loaded with bales were sent by the Arabs to Cairo for his share of the plunder (with about 120,000 dollars), which was a potent inducement to make him a ready proselyte to the infamous and treacherous schemes and operations of this compeer and others in power during his absence, tho' he declared to Mr. Chevalier, who saw him up the country, that he would have every shilling's worth of property restored to the sufferers on his return to Cairo or exterminate the Arab race.

The goods which the Arabs kept themselves as a recompence for the active part they were employed in, were publicly brought into Cairo and Suez for sale without any let or molestation, and the Bashaw in order to await himself of the utmost of our misfortunes, to which he has been largely instrumental, has through his *Haiîa* sent down agents and money to Suez to make purchases, which I suppose they will be able to accomplish for one-third of the original value.

From the 29th of July to the 16th of August, the day of Mr. Moore's release from imprisonment, we secreted ourselves from the search of the Bashaw's people, as they came often to look for Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Skiddy, and me : however, upon our executing an instrument, which they prepared for us (a copy of which is continued on page 18), and their receiving the afore-said large ransom, we got our enlargement, and orders were given for the

release of our ships, and what part of the returns that remained unplundered. I beg leave to refer the reader to the attentive perusal of this most iniquitous and unjust obligation which we were compelled to sign in order to obtain our liberties and facilitate our escape from such an infamous Government and people. In this, however, they acknowledge that we landed our cargo in compliance with his Excellency the Bashaw's firmand, but make us acknowledge that we have received in full that which has been plundered by the Arabs, and that we are to make no complaint to our nation for redress or taking any measures of procuring it ourselves.

However notwithstanding the above firmand from the Porte, I conclude that neither the Grand Signor or Bey can, consistent with equity, and the Law of Nations, justify the putting of it into execution, for besides the voluntary treaty entered into with the English by the Beys of Egypt, which they have never signified to be annulled but have always obliged us on our parts strictly to comply with the terms, there is one in force at this time between the Porte and Great Britain which authorises every English subject to trade to any port without exception within the Ottoman Provinces upon paying the duties specified therein of 3 per cent., whereas according to the former treaty we have always paid $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the merchant who purchases is obliged to pay four before he can take away any goods which ultimately falls upon the proprietor.

At first it was their plan, secretly and without appearing in the business, to benefit themselves by our ruin, and I have been well informed at Cairo and shewn the Head Sheik Arab of Torr, who, at the instance of Government, sent down orders for the attack of our caravan, but afterwards reflecting that they might perhaps never have a future opportunity of plundering the Europeans under the specious cloak of obeying the Porte's firmand, and, the ships and returns being too fascinating an object, they at last determined on making a sweep of the whole, which they too easily succeeded in by their artful and treacherous machinations, and I strongly believe that their intentions were far more villainous than possessing themselves of the entire remaining property, upon the hellish principle that dead men can make no complaints. For on the 29th of July, being the day on which the ship, returns for Suez were seized, at a watering place about five miles from Cairo and subsequent to the arrival of the news of ye taking of the ships, the Beys and Custom Master's people were unusually and importunately pressing for the several gentlemen returning to India to set off for the above place, when, according to custom, they expected the other English Gentlemen at Cairo would have accompanied them to see them so far on their way. The Bey was there with a party of Mamalucks ready to receive us, and on some pretence or other to cut us all off. This is not a causeless conjecture, but

strong circumstances, the anxiety they showed to get us out of town that morning, and the general report at Cairo, give solid ground for such suspicions.

Notwithstanding their obtaining the above agreement from us, they still wished to detain me, and, as an inducement for my voluntary stay, proposed that I should have an exclusive privilege to purchase such goods as the Arabs brought in for sale to Cairo, but, being well aware of their view in making this offer, I strongly pleaded the necessity of my return to India to settle some concerns there and at Mocha which were disarranged by this misfortune, and representing thro' Mr. Rossetti and Mr. Megallon (who have much influence at Cairo, and from whom I made purchases of broad cloth, etc., which would have been used in case of my not going to India), that my detention, instead of being a service, would largely add to my losses, I was suffered to depart.

The Bey's answer to my complaint, in which he promised to reinstate me, in case the goods were not received from the Arabs (for accomplishing which no steps were ever taken), he obliged me to give back in order that it should not be binding or appear against him, but I have kept an authenticated copy.

In such an arbitrary and lawless government as Cairo, it was utterly impossible to obtain positive proofs of any transaction and highly dangerous to trace any to its source, for a suspicion of your intention reaching the ear of the Bey would be a sufficient provocation of a death warrant or perpetual imprisonment. I have, therefore, been under the necessity of applying to the undermentioned gentlemen, who, during their stay at Cairo, had an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the whole story, to testify how far they think this representation of mine true and candid.

CAIRO, *September 1, 1780.*

(Sd.) JOHN O'DONNELL.

We believe the foregoing to be a just representation of facts.

(Sd.) { JAMES GRANT.
JAMES HISLOP.
A. HAMMOND.
H. R. SULIVAN.

No. 1.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY IBRAHIM BEG OF EGYPT.

CAIRO :
18th July, 1780.

After praying for your Excellency's preservation, the writer, John O'Donnell, a subject of the King of Great Britian, for himself and his constituents in Bengal, has the honour to set forth

That having arrived at Suez with the Danish ship, *Nathalia*, after a long and dangerous passage, with an investment of goods to himself and his constituents belonging to the amount of 150,000 dollars—that according to the usual custom his arrival was notified to your Excellency's officers, requesting the usual firmands and permission of Government for landing of the same, agreeable to the stipulations and terms observed the preceding years—that in consequence of this application his Highness the Bashaw's commands were obtained for landing of the goods, and orders accompanied the same from your Excellency to your Commandant at Suez to comply with the Bashaw's commands.

That the writer, having received these assurances of protection from Government, landed his goods, and delivered them into the charge of the Custom Master, who weighed, sealed, and in that condition delivered them to your Excellency's caravan then at Suez for the purpose of transporting them to Cairo. What followed is notorious to all the world; the writer was robbed of all his property, stripped naked, and if not favoured, as he thanks Providence, he was, he might have perished as did some of his unfortunate companions.

The writer has the honour to inform your Excellency that after this disaster, upon returning to Suez, he proposed to your Excellency's Commandant to assist him with men and arms from the ships for the recovery of the goods which were then in sight of Suez and that his offer was answered by bad treatment and imprisonment,—that the writer had then no relief to expect but from your Excellency's justice. He is come to Cairo and claims it with the confidence which his cause most justly inspires.

His property was consigned into your hands, and he hopes that he shall not be [the] first man who may say that he has been ruined by placing the most unlimited confidence in your Excellency's power and justice. He denies as an absolute falsehood the pretext of the Arabs for committing this unparalleled outrage. The Franks did not kill or attempt to kill the Arabs: the Arabs killed and wounded three of the Franks, which the Franks complained of to the Governor of Suez, who told them to revenge themselves, but they respected your Government and desisted from all hostility. The Arabs have made restitution of all the property belonging to the Natives, and declared that they were at war with the English. The English never refused a challenge from any nation, but how can they accept of a defiance to war from your subjects without involving the innocent with the guilty?

The writer did not violate any orders from the Supreme Porte, nor did he mean to do it. It was in the Bashaw's power to order him away and he should have readily obeyed; he did not land without the Bashaw's commands first authorising him to do it. He was a passenger with the Danish ship, and Englishmen have the right to navigate with whom they please without forfeiting the protection of their nation. The writer, in full expectation of redress, has stifled any feeling of revenge, though great allowances are to be made for the actions of a man rendered desperate by such cruel treatment.

He will only beg your Excellency's permission that the first principles in the education of an Englishman are justice and integrity; that while they exercise these principles, his country is bound to protect him, and that his injuries in these cases are such to his whole nation.

The writer begs leave to refer your Excellency to the following articles of a Treaty entered into between your predecessor Mahomed Bey and the English in India.

Article 11th. That Cairo shall be the principal mart for the sales of the goods and merchandize, but the transportation of them from Suez to Cairo, and likewise the return from Cairo to Suez, whether it be in specie or in goods, shall be at the risk of his Excellency the Bey of Cairo, or any other succeeding Prince of Egypt, now and at all times hereafter. "And it is further agreed that the vessels by stress of weather or any other accident be

obliged to put into port, and cannot pursue their voyage to Cairo without danger of losing the season of their return, and the merchants chose to land their goods there, the same shall be transported to Cairo at the risk of the Bey, as aforesaid."

The writer solicits your Excellency's answer to this petition, as his return to India cannot be postponed, and he will ever pray.

(Sd.) JOHN O'DONNELL.

No. 2.

Know ye.

To MR. O'DONNELL, a British Subject,

After perusing the petition presented to us, we have observed its contents, in regard to what you mention to us concerning the goods that were on their way from Suez to Cairo, plundered and taken away by the Arabs of and on, they alledge as their reason for having done this, the English having killed at different times eight of their people, which circumstance, however, we never heard of. We are now doing our utmost in sending an Army against the aforesaid Arabs, and we hope in God the greatest part of the goods will be recovered, and if anything will be wanting and no possibility of recovering them, you shall have satisfaction by other means, and the customs of the goods from India in future shall be appropriated to make good any deficiency. And in consequence the Bey wrote by Mr. Moore, but obliged him to return the letter at the same time that he took this answer from me I have wrote to the Governor-General of Bengal upon this business, and you ought to remain at Cairo easy about this matter, as I hope in God things will turn out successful.

(Sd.) IBRAHIM BEY.

No. 3.

Copy of a Firmaund or to say Chuet Shineef as follows :

Our Sublime Porte by no means whatever admits of the approaching of any European ships to the Bunder or Harbour of Suez, nor even their coming from Juddah to the neighbourhood of Suez publicly or secretly (all Franks included), the sea of Suez being a *rendes-vous* only to the most sacred personages of the Holy Place. It is necessary, therefore, that every one should assist in driving off the European ships from these quarters, for time would show their treacherous conduct towards our faith, the Sublime Porte and all of us together; and whoever of them after this dares to approach shall meet with punishment in this world and in the next for ever and ever. As this Firmaund is the order of our Sublime Porte regarding our faith and religion, we recommend to you its execution, and to last for ever, and this to be done with the greatest energy in obedience to our present command, it being the positive orders of the Sublime Porte to follow and observe the contents of the present Firmaund, and this is our request. After our ceremonial compliments to our Vizier Ismail Bashaw, to whom may God give long life, and prosperity, our judge of the law, our all the Musslemen, to all persons who serve our Faith and Religion, to our Chief Judge, in Justice to our Sheik Ballad, and all the Emirs of Cairo, on whom honor and respect attend for ever, and all those belonging to our sacred Mosques, know ye that the Bearer Hapaje Bashee, belonging to our respectful Porte (named Mastapha Jaher, bestowed with honor) will acquaint you with the sentiments of our Sublime Porte and all the Sheiks who keep the keys of our Faith, those of the Mosque Ezhir, where sacred hands keep possession of the Alcoran, and those who possess the Ujaaks of Cairo, whom may God strengthen, should ever the present Firmaund from our Sublime Porte reach you, may it be known unto you that in the neighbourhood of the sea of Suez in the

country of Handsein, etc., who are those that preserved the Faith, which has been handed down to us, and assigned the *rendez-vous* of those who walk uprightly to the shining place of Medina, honored by God to the day of Resurrection, ships have anchored. We therefore do not chuse that no nation should by any means have a preference to another in bringing any merchants' ships to the aforesaid seas, even should it be our greatest interest and from all parts of India, English ships and others are prohibited from coming within the Bunder of Judda, loaded or unloaded, according to our late agreement.

In the time of the massacred Ally Bey, a little English ship from the coast of Africa arrived at the Bunder of Suez with sundry presents from the owner to the said Ally Bey, with the view of obtaining permission to remain a little time and form a plan for carrying on the trade. The English nation did not apply in consequence, and after this, their ships came to the Bunder of Suez, without our knowledge, from the several countries of India with merchandizes, in the time of the blessed Jhudahad Mahomed Bey, and he was induced to give his sanction to this by others, who ambitious of increasing the customs, represented to him the great advantages he would reap, which gradually encouraged the coming of English ships and others to the Bunder of Suez, till at last the confirmation of their proceedings have reached the Sublime Porte, and as there is no depending on the vicissitudes of matters in this world, we have in consequence given our orders, and it is absolutely against our will and desire that they should come to Suez; and we in no manner whatever admit of it, but we command that they remain at a distance in their own country for ever. We have made this known to their Ambassador, who is with us at Constantinople, and ordered him to write to the Headmen of his Crown or Power, to prevent the above ships, approaching to the Bunder of Suez, for their coming is contrary to custom and prejudicial to the promise made to our Sublime Porte. In consequence the aforesaid Ambassador laid before us the answer received from his Crown, and from the General and Governor who commanded India, which say that their merchants trading to the Bunder shall be absolutely forbid doing so, beginning from the Greek year, which is from the months of Canoon Oreib, and that after this time no one shall come to the Bunder of Suez, and if any one arrives contrary to their interdiction, their goods shall be confiscated, their men shall be made slaves and their ships kept by us, and the affair is to be referred to our Sublime Porte. We know from many of our sensible men of learning, well acquainted with history, and they have observed to us from what has happened and been done in former times by the Europeans in their subtle way of proceeding, surmounting every difficulty by sea and land, until they can have an opportunity of succeeding in their views by possessing themselves of the lands and property of others, as they have done in India and other places. Moreover we have received several representations from the Respectful Shireef of Mecca acquainting us that the Europeans abovementioned are not only contented with transporting goods from India, but they have also brought coffee and other articles from the neighbourhood of Yemen. In consequence the trade Judda will be entirely ruined; and, as we should be unable to assist the pilgrims should this happen, their malediction will fall on our King. We have also instances of what has been done some years ago by the Europeans and Dutch in India, who took possession of Muskat and the neighbouring country. At first they came under a pretext of trading only, without being of any prejudice to the inhabitants, until such time as a person, who was well acquainted with the situation of the country gave full intelligence of the place, which induced them in India soon after to take it. Furthermore the natives, being a very stupid people, had not the least apprehensions of their fate or situation, until they saw themselves actually under their power by the countries which they had taken, as Ahmedabad, Bengall, Belimbar, Surat and Madras. In this way they began to take the command and govern over the inhabitants, which you will observe to

be a very artful and treacherous manner of making themselves masters in India. In this same way they entered, in the time of Katimium, into the neighbourhood of Damascus under the pretext of being traders and that they would be of no prejudice to the inhabitants but conform to the customs and duties in full. It happened at that time we had some difference with Hatamium and Abassium which gave the Europeans an advantage in taking possession of the neighbourhood of Damascus and the sacred Jerusalem which remained for the space of one hundred years and upwards in their possession, and at the end of the 100th year, when Yussiff Sahan appeared (whom may God have in His glory), with the assistance of the Herads, retook the land of Damascus and the sacred Jerusalem from them, with the loss of a great number of our people, but had the satisfaction at last of having expelled them for ever. The enmity between the Christian and Mahometan Religion is also notorious, which in former times induced the Christians to dispossess the Mahometans of the sacred Jerusalem. Therefore whoever wishes the approach of the Europeans to the neighbourhood of Damascus and the Bunder of Suez, may the Eternal God dishonor and disgrace in this world, and may he be punished for ever by God in the next. We do recommend that you do pay due attention in future and not suffer a single European or any of their ships to reach the environs of Suez, and that you enquire if any person encourages and assists them privately and severely punish him, that none may dare behave in the same manner hereafter. Do not think that our King will be backward in having these orders put into execution for the Sublime Porte has power to act rigorously, and strongly recommends that, without listening to any request, every ship of the English, or any other European native, which arrives at the Bunder of Suez be seized and confiscated under suspicion of their being pirates and rebels to their Sovereign, according to the strict orders from their Ambassador here and the answer he has received from his Crown of their being rebels to both powers. In consequence their goods should be confiscated and their ships given up to us. You will therefore represent the matter to our Sublime Porte without suffering any soul to render them the smallest assistance, or intercede for them in any shape whatever, and you, our Vizier, to whom our orders are recommended, know the desire of our Sublime Porte, and to you, ye Emirs and Lawyers and Ujaacks, we strenuously recommend the fulfilling of this command in all its parts, it being a matter that regards our Faith. Therefore endeavour by every means imaginable to remove any apprehensions you may suspect from them. In default you will remember at the day of punishment: And ye Sawers, who know the holy Scriptures and understand the Mahometan Faith, remember, remember and remember that you do not require stricter orders, and whoever does not comply with those, you have only to represent the affair to our Sublime Porte.

This we conclude.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

No. 4.

At our arrival at Suez, with the ship and cargo, according to the Firmaund of his Excellency the Bashaw, we disembarked the goods, part of which we transported to Cairo, and the remainder was plundered by the Torr rebel Arabs, after which happened in Cairo, the arrest of our merchandizes and the imprisonment of our persons in the Castle of the Grand Signor, and an order was despatched to Suez, where the ships were seized and the people belonging to them; and this has arisen in consequence of a Firmaund and Sign Manual of the Porte which implied that our Ambassador had given his acquiescence to the Porte for the consequences which has happened to those who had, or might accrue at Suez. We have demanded a copy of the same, and obtained it. After which we, [the]

underwritten, attest and acknowledge that, from to-day henceforward, no English or Danish ship shall come to Suez, nor commit hostilities, neither upon the ships that navigate from Suez to Judda, or from Judda to Suez, nor upon any city or country, in whatsoever respect to that which had been plundered by the Arabs, nor any other, either the people of Egypt, nor the great men or commandant at Suez, and we have received in full that which has been plundered, and with the permission of God, we will depart from Suez to India; and if after our departure, there should arrive vessels of whatever nation to do harm, that they shall be compromised in this our agreement; and we, [the] underwritten, in case any operation on the part of the Franks, or any memorial being presented to the Porte respecting the goods plundered by the Arabs, agree that the same protests may not be listened to, and that the expence incurred thereby shall be defrayed by us the underwritten.

In case, however, that there should come orders from the Porte with permission to the ships from India to arrive at Suez, we will come with our merchandize, and if permission does not come from the Porte, we shall not arrive.

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| (Signed) GEORGE MOORE. | CHENU. |
| A. HAMMOND. | GEORGE BALDWIN. |
| D. CAMPBELL. | EWAN BAILIE. |
| JAMES HISLOP. | JAMES GRANT. |
| M. R. SULLIVAN. | JOHN O'DONNELL. |
| And W. SKIDDY. | |

Ordered that Mr. O'Donnell's letter lie for consideration.

4. THE CRUISE OF THE "DEATH OR GLORY."

After O'Donnell had made the best bargain he could with the Egyptian Beys, the *Nathalia* set out for India, carrying on board her paragon of so many heroic virtues—Mrs. Fay. The story of the voyage of that ship and its capture by Hyder Ali's people at Calicut has been recorded in the *Original Letters from India*. O'Donnell in due time left Egypt in company with his fellow sufferer, Mr. George Moore, on board the *St. Helena*. At Cochin, in February 1780, they picked up the Fays, who had been released from imprisonment at Calicut. "Happily for me," writes Eliza, "our society has been very different from the last I was condemned to mix with on ship board. Of these Mr. Moore and Mr. O'Donnell are of the utmost importance to us. Our acquaintance with them commenced in Egypt, and as they were indeed (though innocently) the cause of all we suffered there, a very agreeable friendship has naturally taken place between us. The latter is now obliged to return to India to begin life again (his losses on the Desert having been followed by many unavoidable expenses as you will learn from my narrative), and seek a competence under all the disadvantages an injured constitution, added to a deep sense of disappointment and injustice, subject him to. You may be sure we have had many conversations on the sad story of the Desert and the last moments of those who perished there."

On their arrival at Calcutta, "through Mr. O'Donnell's kindness" the Fays temporarily found a home with the Da Costa family. L. Da Costa, it may be said, was a Portuguese shipowner, who had removed from Chander-nagore to Calcutta. It is perfectly clear from the records that O'Donnell was hand in glove with Da Costa, for we find, that when later on the papers and effects of the latter were seized by order of the Council of Fort William, O'Donnell appeared as his friend's "attorney," and requested that all papers *not of a treasonable nature* might be handed over to him, in order that he might complete Da Costa's accounts. The last mention of O'Donnell in Mrs. Fay's pages is in her letter of 19th February, 1781 :—"Yesterday being the anniversary of our release from imprisonment, we invited Dr. Jackson's family, Mr. O'Donnell, and some friends to assist in its celebration. I call it my 'Jubilee Day,' and trust my friends at home did not forget the occasion."

But O'Donnell had now in his heart a project in keeping with his adventurous spirit. The tale will be told by his own letters, but as will be seen in a later chapter, after O'Donnell has told his tale, there will still be another tale—a rather ugly one—to be told.

O. C. 1781. 6th July. No. 3.

TO WILLIAM BRUERE, ESQR., SECRETARY TO THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND SUPREME COUNCIL.

CALCUTTA :
July 4th, 1781.

SIR,

As actual Hostilities are now commenced against the Dutch, I should wish to assist in fitting out and equipping a Privateer from Bengal, to make Reprisals on the Ships and property of that Nation in the Streights of Malacca, and the Molucca Islands. I shall therefore esteem it a particular favour, if you will enquire and inform me, whether the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council will be pleased to grant letters of Marque for the above purpose.

I have the honor to be,
With respect, Sir,
Your most obedient & humble servant,
JOHN O'DONNELL,

TO GENERAL GILES STIBBERT,

Commanding the Hon'ble Company's Forces.

CALCUTTA :
21st July, 1781.

SIR,

The countenance and assistance which I have already received from this Government in order the more completely to enable me to fit out a private ship of war for the purpose of making reprisals on the ships and property of our enemies in these seas have induced me to apply to you, Sir, for a few of the Artillery Invalids.

Could you spare me the use of a Serjeant, a Corporal and twenty Private men, they would be of the most essential service as Marines and Captains of guns on board ships.

To you, Sir, who most certainly be the better judge, it would be unnecessary to point out the many advantages which may be produced to the community by giving proper encouragement to such enterprises specially at this time, when every corner swarms with French Privateers, and our trade has been almost destroyed by them; and the success it's more than probable we shall meet with, will no doubt be strong incentives to others to follow our example.

Our ship is a vessel of great force carrying twenty-two guns, (sixteen of which are brass six pounders), besides cohans, swivels, musquetoons, and one hundred and twenty men, and I will pledge myself to you, Sir, that the greatest attention and care shall be had to the health of the invalids who are to be paid by me, and will not be of any expence to the Company during their absence. Our return will be, I hope, in the course of five or six months.

A change of air and situation may have a very salutary effect and render them fit for active service.

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect,
Your most, etc.,
JOHN O'DONNELL.

THESE requests were granted, although a similar request addressed to General Stibbert by Colonel H. Watson was refused. As in the sequel the *Death or Glory* fell in with another Privateer, the *Dodaley*,* which had obtained letters of marque nearly a year and a half before, I shall give the letters relating to the fortunes of either ship.

1780. O. C. 17th January. No. 12.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &c. COUNCIL.

CALCUTTA :
3rd January, 1780.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I most humbly beg leave to offer a request to the Board that a Commission justifying acts of hostility against the enemy may be granted to the ship *Dodaley*.

Having been at a very great change in putting the ship in such a state as gives room to hope a certain degree of security to the valuable property with which I am entrusted and the voyage on which I shall immediately depart being to the Eastward and China, in which route dangers may be justly apprehended, I flatter myself that this application will not be deemed improper.

I am,
Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
JOHN MACLARY.

1782. O.C. 4th March. No. 12.

CALCUTTA :
March 2nd, 1782.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRs,

The *Death or Glory* privateer ship of war, having taken a prize as likewise the fort of Perack, which is arrived and consigned to us with part of the plunder, we take this mode

*The story of the adventurous cruise of the *Dodaley* before joining in with the *Death or Glory* will be told in our next.

of making your Honors acquainted with it, and request you will be pleased to give your sanction for the disposal thereof. We do not recapitulate the particulars transmitted to us by the Captain and Mr. O'Donnell, knowing they have transmitted you a full account of the capture. The Resident of Perack and his family are on board the prize, and as they preferred being brought here than to be delivered up at any of their own settlements, we humbly request that they may be indulged with the like allowances as the prisoners of war of the same nation are allowed according to their rank.

We are, etc.,
JAS. HUGGINS,
WM. JOHNSON,
Agents for the Capturers.

1782. O.C. 27th May. No. 6.

SHIP "DEATH OR GLORY,"
Off Culpee :
May the 25th, 1782.

HONORED SIR AND SIRs,

I thought it a duty incumbent on me to inform you of our safe arrival in the river as also the loss of the ship *Betsey*,* Captain Geddes, which was taken the 4th of March last in the river of Rhio by a French Privateer, a Dutch 40-gun ship which was the Japan ship fitted out for that purpose, and two Dutch armed sloops. She had on board when taken 1,232 chests of opium which a Portuguese Captain inform'd me whom I brought to in the straits of Banca, and who was there at the time.

On the 11th April the ship *Dudlay* brought a small Portuguese snow to from Bengall, whom informed us that Colonel Watson's ship was at Quidda with the Hon'ble Company's Oppiums the ship *Dudlay*, and our prize the *Saint Antony* went to Quidda† to inform her of the dangers she would meet with going through the straits of Malacca, as we left in Mallacca roads the aforementioned 40-gun ships, the French privateer, and the ship *Betsey*, whom the French Captain had fitted out as a ship of war.

There was great reason also to imagine that they would be reinforced from Batavia, for, on the 29th of March, the *Dudlay* and us were chased out of the Straits of Banca by three large ships, seemingly ships of the line, and a ketch of 16 guns, leaving all our prizes behind us to the amount of 3 or 4 lacks of rupees and chased us for two days, however a dark night favoured our escape.

Captain McClarry in the ship *Dudlay* and our prize the *Saint Antony* are now in the river, and I hope will be able to give the Hon'ble

* The owner of this ship was Captain Cudbert Thornhill. The papers concerning her will be published in our next number.

† For Quidda or Keda vide *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. iii., pp. 163-4.

Board further intelligence concerning the Hon'ble Company's property at Quidda.

I have, etc.,

JAMES BRACEY.

1782. O. C. 9th July. No 24.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND
THE MEMBERS OF THE HON'BLE SUPREME COUNCIL, FORT WILLIAM.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

The great encouragement and assistance I received from you in fitting out the *Death and Glory* privateer, ever claim my warmest acknowledgements; and now induce me to trouble you with as concise an account as possible of our progress hitherto, the success we have met with, and the Dutch force and situation in this quarter; assuring you my just wishers will be highly gratified, if any information, which I may now, or at any time hereafter during the cruise, transmit to your Hon'ble Board proves worthy of your attention.

After a very tedious and disagreeable passage of about two months, which indeed was to be expected on account of our leaving Calcutta at so unseasonable a time, we arrived at Quidda in the Straights of Malacca, where we were supplied with provisions and every other refreshment we wanted by orders of the King, who professes himself a friend to the English; and a recent instance of his conduct regarding one of our vessels, which was taken by a French privateer as she was coming into his harbour, leaves me very little room to doubt his sincerity. A few months since the snow *Speedwell* Bengal, commanded by Captain Peters arrived in sight of Quidda Roads and a French Privateer which then lay at anchor there. As soon as the *Speedwell* came within random shot, the Privateer slipped her cable and gave chase, but the former, running aground, struck her colours, and was accordingly taken possession of by the French, who carried her and her cargo to Salangore, where the bartered opium for tin and other merchandise. After they had finished, they returned with the prize and her produce to Quidda where the Captain, some of the principal officers, and a number of their men were seized on their going ashore, and imprisoned by order of the King, until they should restore the snow *Speedwell* and her cargo, or an equivalent to it, which they had the audacity to take upon his shore and as she was going into and in sight of his harbour. The French had no choice but were obliged to comply, and the King has now in possession the Snow and her cargo, in order to deliver them up to the English, in the contingent that the French had no legal right consistent with the Laws of nations to commit such an act

of hostility when the vessel was on ground on his coast. I have taken the liberty to trouble your Hon'ble Board with the particulars of this circumstance, as I have reason to think that it concerns the merchants and public Insurance Society of Calcutta.

As I understand your Hon'ble Board intend sending the Company's opium to the Eastward this season, it may not be uninteresting to observe that we sold some private opium, which I brought with me from Calcutta to answer the current charges of the ship for 350 Spanish dollars the chest, and I make no doubt but we could have got at the rate of 400 for fifty chests had we them and time for their disposal.

After remaining many days in Quidda Roads in expectation of seeing the French privateer, as Monsieur Fontrel, who commands her, reported he would return shortly, we sailed for Perac, where we understood the Dutch had a fort weakly garrisoned. On our arrival within three leagues of the mouth of the River, without a pilot or a soul on board who had ever been there before, we found the entrance so difficult and intricate, so full of shoals and sands, that we were almost deterred from an attempt to get in, and most certainly our persevering after being twice on ground and laying a whole night on a sand, where we had no more than five feet water until the next flood, carries with it a greater proof of timeirity and rashness than prudence, however we were indefatigably determined and successful.

When we arrived within six or seven miles of the Dutch Fort, which lays about fifteen leagues up the River of Perac, we received a deputation from the Malay King, at, as we had reason to suppose, the instance of the Dutch, to demand what we wanted and the cause of our coming into their river. We returned for answer that our nation, the English, being at war with the Dutch, we came to possess ourselves of their Fort and property in his country, but that we wished to be on friendly terms with him and the natives, nor was it our intention to molest them, but in the event of their assisting and taking the part of our enemies The Deputation returned, seemingly well pleased with these declarations. The next day a flag of truce from the Dutch Commandant (Meneer Meirs) came on the like errand. We observed to the officer who came that we expected to be up that night abreast of the Fort, and that in the morning we would begin our operations both by land and water, if they were not inclined to capitulate. Early in the morning, the same officer returned and said the Governor would surrender the Fort to us, provided we complied with the terms he had to propose, and requested a proper person might be sent to him with full powers to settle the preliminaries. In consequence, attended with a linguist, I accompanied him back, and was received by the Governor at the landing place before the Fort, and by him conducted into it, to his own house, when we immediately

began upon business. He at first appeared very unreasonable, but upon my showing a great share of indifference, and representing to him the fatal and unhappy consequences, which must naturally have attended, was any resistance made, and the ship appearing just at that time in view, he at length agreed to the following articles, which we signed and interchanged :—

“That the Governor, the 2nd in command, and the Doctor were to be considered as prisoners on their parole but all the rest of the Garrison prisoners at our discretion.

“That the Governor, his family, and the soldiers were to be transported to Malacca at our expence, upon his and their entering into a solemn engagement under the severest penalties not to bear arms against the English during the present war with the States General.

“That the Governor and the people under him were to possess their own property unmolested, but that the Fort and everything belonging to the Dutch Company at Perac were (*bond fide*) to be delivered to us, as well as the sloop and her cargo which then lay a little above the Fort.”

After the above articles were mutually executed, and the Dutch colours struck, I returned on boardship, and when she came to an anchor abreast of the Fort, I disembarked a party of about thirty-five seamen and marines, entered the Fort, and received the keys and charge of it from the Governor.

I now do myself the honour to inclose you a plan of the Fort as correct as my pencil disused to such scenes could draw, as also a return of the warlike stores and effects taken by us at Perac, and on board the Company's sloop.

There were in the Fort on our arrival about fifty Europeans and twenty Malays, and on board the Dutch sloop, which was prepared to assist the Fort, fourteen European seamen and about twenty Malays and Chinese. The King was besides prepared to assist the Dutch from their two batteries which lay within one-quarter of a mile of us, provided the Dutch made a defence. Thus situated and prepared for an effectual resistance, is it not astonishing and unaccountable how the Commandant and Garrison could think of giving up their Fort and sloop to so inconsiderable a Force as ours, without the least effort or opposition? Nor can I in any other manner account for their conduct than by imagining that they were all struck with panic and surprise at so unexpected and sudden a visit never once dreaming that it was possible for a ship of war to enter their river, protected by a dangerous bar and numberless shoals.

The day after our taking possession of the Fort, we sent a messenger to the King, requesting to see one of his principal and confidential people on business, and he agreed that his Vakeel should meet us halfway. When I saw his boat ready, I set off with an interpreter, and through him explained to the King's messenger the reason of our errand to Perac, and that we did not

on any account wish to molest the nations, provided they observed a strict neutrality between our enemies the Dutch and English during the present contest : that now an adventitious opportunity offered of freeing themselves from the impositions and tyranny of the Dutch, all of whom we would take out of their country, of laying open a free trade to our and other nations, and of making themselves as respectable and independent as their neighbours, the Kings of Quidda and Salangore provided they would purchase from us the Dutch Fort, ammunition and guns, which I then made them an offer of at a very reasonable and low valuation. But all my arguments were of little weight nor were they sufficient to induce them, possibly apprehensive of future persecution and severe punishment, to prefer the friendship of the English to Dutch slavery. Finding further negotiation unavailing, we immediately began to embark the guns, powder, shot and such other stores and articles as were worth taking away, and for which we had room, and having finished, I set fire to the Magazine, Warehouses, gun carriages, etc., in the Fort, as well as the houses outside of it, and we left Perac on the night of the 17th.

The Malays in many instances showed themselves as much as lay in their power our enemies, and have tried to do us as much mischief as possible. I would, therefore, dissuade any of our Bengal trading vessels from going to Perac, as I think every bad consequence might be apprehended from so treacherous a people, who have no regard to equity and justice and are only to be kept in awe by the fear of instant punishment.

The destroying the Fort of Perac must prove a very material loss to the Dutch Company as the Malays were obliged to take their opium at 500 Spanish dollars the chest, and furnish tin at 32f. dollars the Bahar of 342 English pounds, whereas the current and almost invariable price of it at every other place in the Straights is 45.

After completely watering at the Island of Dinding, where the Dutch had formerly a Fort and Garrison, we sailed the 29th for Salangore, where I sold the remaining opium which I brought with me from Bengal for 450 dollars the chest.

We are now on our way towards Malacca, and yesterday spoke with a Portuguese ship from Macao bound to the coast of Malabar, which place she left the 10th of last month. The Super Cargo informed me that our Bengal, Madras, and Bombay-China vessels were to sail early in January, that in the Straights of St. Johns near Cape Romania, he was brought to by a French privateer, commanded by Monsieur Barbaron, carrying twenty guns, and two hundred men, who was lying in wait for our ships on their return to India, that at Malacca they are and have been for some time very active in throwing up works and strengthening their fortifications, but that they are very weak

in men to defend them, not having by the most certain accounts, which I have learnt from the Portuguese and others above 150 Europeans, 200 native Portuguese, and 500 Chinese and Malay Militia.

Our present intention is to make all expedition possible in quest of the Privateer, in hopes of saving our trading vessels from falling into her hands, for tho' our force is not equal to that of the French, yet we all think it a duty we owe our country and its prosperity to run some risk where so great a property of the merchants of India is in danger.

We intend cruizing in the Streights of Banca some time and shall afterwards proceed along the East Coast of Java to the Spice Islands. I shall take the liberty of writing to you, Gentlemen, by every opportunity, and have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
JOHN O'DONNELL.

Ship Death or Glory
at Sea near Cape Richado.
January 14th, 1782.

1782. O. C. 9th July. No. 27.

INGELEE :
May 25th, 1782.

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, AND THE
MEMBERS OF THE HON'BLE SUPREME COUNCIL, FORT WILLIAM.
HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Some time since I did myself the pleasure to address your Hon'ble Board and communicated the news of having succeeded in the reduction of the Dutch Fort of Perac and our intentions of going in pursuit of the French Privateer, which we understood was cruising near Point Romania for the returning Bengal, Madras and Bombay ships from China.

Near Malacca we took a rich Dutch snow bound to Porto Novo, which was immediately despatched to Bengal, and on the night of the 3rd of February off Palo Pisang we fell in with the French Privateer ; both vessels being on different tacks and within shot of each other, we fired several times in hopes of bringing her to action ; but, without returning a single shot, she crowded every sail possible and made the best of her way to Malacca. We then put about and gave her chase for above half an hour and upon finding that she rather gained on us, we gave over our pursuit, and shaped our course for the Straits of Banca.

It would have been fortunate indeed and prevented the mischief which has since happened, had we come up with Monsieur Barbaron, as after his engagement with three or four of our country ships, he had not forty shot left and must, of course, become an easy conquest.

We reach'd the above-mentioned station the 18th of February, and thus joined the private ship of war, the *Dodoloy*, commanded by Captain John Maclary. During our cruise in Banca, we took, sunk, and burnt above thirty large dows, snows, and sloops under Dutch colors ; from those which we destroyed, we took everything of value.

Almost on the eve of the day on which we had determined to leave the Straits with five prizes of value, the Dutch Fleet from Batavia (consisting of three large fifty gun ships, and an armed ketch), as the morning dawned, appeared within three or four miles of us. We, therefore, thought it prudent and advisable to make as speedy a retreat as possible, well assured we were not equal in power to such an armament, sent no doubt on purpose after us, and on their way to Malacca with military stores to clear the Straits of Banca, and keep open the communication between the former place and Batavia, and were under the painful, though unavoidable, necessity of leaving property behind us to the value of not less than two lacs of rupees. They chased us forty-eight hours, but we luckily got clear of them in a dark, squally night.

We then determined to make the utmost expedition to Malacca Roads, where we, with concern, heard the Japan ship equipped for war and the French privateer commanded by Monsr. Barbaron had just arrived, with Captain Thornhill's ship, the *Betsey*, and about twelve hundred chests of the Hon'ble Company's Ophium, which they had taken in the River of Rhio, and there made a vigorous effort to retake her. However the Dutch and French, having had sufficient time to prepare themselves, as they must have seen us near two days before our reaching the harbour, broke their former ground and hauled in as close as possible near the shore and several batteries which they had lately erected on the beach. They then form'd the three ships into a half-moon, and with springs on their cables, were in the most favourable situation to receive an enemy. Upon our near approach, the Dutch armed snows and sloops, about six in number, cut and ran ashore, and all their crews were sent to reinforce the ships. Captain Maclary singled out the Japan ship, a two-decker, and when he got within gun shot, the enemy from their ship and batteries on shore began a very heavy fire, which he returned smartly. The tide being against him, and there being little wind, he was under the necessity of anchoring, but still driving and being very near the rocks, he cut his cable and put to sea. He most fortunately, tho' engaged an hour and sustaining almost the whole fire of the ship and batteries,

suffered very little. His sail and rigging were much damaged, but "surprising" not a single man was shot or wounded.

Our ship, the *Death or Glory*, did not get near enough for our short brass guns to do any execution. We lay, too, all the evening, in hopes of their coming out to us, and in the night we left Malacca, not thinking it advisable, strongly and advantageously situated as they were, to make a second attack, more especially as we hourly expected at our heels the Dutch fleet, which had a few days before chased us out of the Straits of Banca.

Off Cape Richado, we spoke a Portuguese snow from Calcutta, and from the Captain learnt that he had seen the *Nonsuch*,* near Quidda, where we in great expectation of seeing Captain Richardson, in order to give him the information of the fate of the *Betsey* into which Mons. Barbaron has shifted himself and people. He unluckily got possession of Captain Geddes's private signals, and by their assistance, entertained sanguine hopes of bringing other ships freighted with the Company's property into an ambuscade, to be laid by him and the Dutch. But I have the pleasure to inform your Hon'ble Board that the *Nonsuch* left Quidda the 16th of April last which will, of course, induce him to act with the greatest caution and circumspection.

The Company's vessel, the *Fly*, Captain Forrest, arrived safe at Quidda.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

JOHN O'DONNELL.

1782. O. C. 3rd July. No. 12.

To J. P. AURIOL, Esq.,
Secretary.

CALCUTTA:

July 2nd, 1782.

SIR,

The Hon'ble Governor-General and Council having been pleased to recall the commission granted to my ship the *Dodalay*, I beg leave to return it into your hands.

I am, etc.,

JOHN M'CLARY.

1782. O. C. 9th July. No. 26.

LIST of STORES, etc., taken at the FORT of PERAC:—40 Carriage Guns from 6 to 2 Pounds—19 of which were Brass. 60 Stands of very excellent new Musquets with all their apparatus. A number of Blunderbusses, Pistols, Hangers, Spears, etc. 21 Double Barrels of Gun Powder. 4 small Temporary Magazines, full of Canon and Musquet Cartridges. 2,000 round and double headed shot. 4,000 Hand Grenades. 8,000 Spanish Dollars. 20 Tons of prepared Tin. Europe Beef and Pork, Butter, Oil, Tamarind, Sugar, Rice, Arrack, etc., sufficient stock to serve their Garrison for a Siege of twelve months.

(To be concluded.)

* A ship belonging to Col. H. Watson. Vide *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III., p. 385 et seq. She had been built at Kidderpore. See the recent Reprint of *Hartly House*, p. 368.

An Account of the Countries, Cities and Towns, adjacent to Bengal, contained in Mr. Plaisted's Map prefixed to this Volume.*

BY A GENTLEMAN WHO RESIDED THERE MANY YEARS.



BENGAL and the Countries lying to the *North-West*, were formerly govern'd by three *Nabobs*, but they are now under one; the same who lately did so much Mischief to our Settlements in that Country. He must needs therefore be a very powerful Prince, and perhaps may find Work enough for the *Mogul* himself, before he is brought under Subjection especially as he is but little acquainted with the *European* Manner of going to War. And it is happy for the *East India* Company, that the *Nabob* himself is no better skilled in this necessary Art, otherwise he would never have suffered *Calcutta* to be retaken; and his own Town *Hugly*, and his Factory there, to be plundered and burnt by a Handful of *English*.

The first Place of Note we met with to the *North-West* of *Calcutta*, is *Binares* or *Benares*. It is seated on the *Ganga* or *Ganges*, upon a pleasant Spot, in a delightful and rich Country, and is a large City and well built, the greatest Part of the Houses being constructed with Brick and hewn stone. They are much higher than in other Parts of the *Indies*, but the Streets are very narrow and incommodious. There are several Caravanserais, one of which is strong, large and well built. In the Middle of the Court there are two Galleries in which they sell Cottons, Silks, and other Merchandizes. They are sold by the Weavers themselves, which makes them come very reasonable to the Purchasers. The principal Pagod of the *Gentows* is in this City, and a little to the *North-West* of it is a *Mahometan* Mosque, near which there are several Tombs of a beautiful Architecture. The finest are in the midst of Gardens inclosed with Walls.

* The volume is Bartholomew Plaisted's *A Journal from Calcutta in Bengal, etc., etc., to England in the year MDCCCL*. Second Edition, London. 1757.

Binares is the *Athens* of the *Indies*, where all the principal Persons come for Education. The Tutors are dispersed throughout the City and Suburbs, and have each from four to fifteen Scholars. Their first Study is the *Hanscrit*, which is a different Language from that of the common *Indian*. This they pretend was the Language of God, communicated by *Brahma*, who lived I know not how many Hundred Thousand Years ago. However this is certain, that it is very ancient, and all their sacred Books are written therein. After which they learn Philosophy, whose Professors are divided into six different Sects. All their Books speak of the first Principles of Things, but in a various Manner. Some are Atomists, some are for Matter and Form, and some again, are for the four Elements and nothing. Others affirm that Light and Darkness are the first Principles. Others refer all to Privation, which they distinguish from nothing, while others affirm the World is composed of Accidents. But all agree that their Principles are eternal. In Medicine they have a great many little Books, or rather Collections of Receipts, the principal of which is written in Verse. They know nothing of Anatomy, for they look upon Dissections with Abhorrence. They have Knowledge enough of Astronomy, to foretel Eclipses, but their Geography is not only imperfect but ridiculous.

Sefara is seated at the Foot of a Mountain, near it is a great Lake, wherein is an Island with a beautiful Mosque, in which the *Nabob* who built it lies buried. There is a handsome Bridge to pass into this Island, built with Free-stone.

Patna is one of the largest Cities in *India*, and is seated on the Southern Side of the *Ganges*; but the Houses are mean, being covered with Thatch and *Bamboe* Reeds, and are placed at a Distance from each other. It is built on an Eminence to secure it from the Inundations of the *Ganges*, in a very pleasant and fruitful Country, which produces great Quantities of *Opium*. It is adorned with fine Gardens, Pagods, and other publick Structures; as also Towers and Redoubts on the Land Side, which serve more for Ornament than Use. They make Potter's Ware here of a particular Kind of Earth, which is very fragrant, and the Vessels are almost as thin as Paper. The *Dutch* have a Factory here for *Salt Petre* and raw Silk; besides which many other Merchandizes may be purchased. The *English* had a Sort of a Factory here, but it has been withdrawn several Years.

Oriza on the South-West Part of the Map was formerly an independent Kingdom, but is now tributary to the Great *Mogul*, and is governed by a *Gentow* Prince. Their Religion, at least some Part of it, is as extravagant as can possibly be imagined. They worship an Idol called *Gopalsami*, whose Figure nearly resembles that of *Priapus*. Around his Temple are the Figures of Men and Women in the most obscene Postures, as also on his

Palankin when he is carried about in Procession. Virgins and married Women who have no Children, worship the distinguishing Part in hopes of Issue, and likewise present him with large Oblations. He is adored likewise by all the *Gentows* of both Sexes ; but not in so peculiar a Manner.

At *Jagranaut*, there is a Pagod of another Kind, which is resorted to by Pilgrims from all Parts of *India*. It stands in a Plain about a Mile from the Sea, and is built of Stone in the Shape of a *Canary* Pipe set on one End. It has no Windows, but is illuminated with Hundreds of Wax Tapers, which burn Day and Night. The Idol is an irregular Figure of Black Stone, with two rich Diamonds placed near the Top to represent Eyes, and the Nose and Mouth are not carved but painted with a red Colour. About the Middle of the Pagod is the Image of an Ox, carved out of one entire Stone, and bigger than the Life ; the back Parts are fixed in the Wall. All the Pilgrims are obliged to wash in a Cistern or *Tank*, which is forty or fifty Yards long, before they enter the Pagod.

There are about 500 Priests who officiate at this Pagod, and their Business is to boil vast Quantities of Rice for the Use of the Idol as they pretend. Some Part of it is placed before him, and the rest is either sold or given to the Poor. These Priests lodge in Houses or Convents near the Temple. The Nights are spent in beating on Tabors and Brass Cymbals, with Songs of Praise to the Idol. This is never removed out of the Temple, but his Effigies is often carried about in Procession, mounted on a Carriage four Stories high. It has about ten Wheels, and is large enough to contain 200 People. It is drawn through a Street 50 Yards wide, and a Mile and a half long, by a Cable of 14 Inches in Circumference. Sometimes 200 People draw the Carriage with small Ropes fastened to the Cable. There are rash foolish Zealots who fall flat on the Ground on purpose to be crushed in Pieces by the Wheels. They have a Tradition that about 4,000 Years ago this Idol swam over the Sea to the Shore near which his Temple stands.

The Country about *Jagranaut* is very fruitful and produces Corn, Pepper, Mirobalans, Gum-Lack, Bees-Wax, Oil, Butter, Cloth, Cattle, Deer, Antilopes, Bears, and Monkeys ; which last are very numerous and bold. The Water-Fowls, Partridges and Pheasants are all tame, because none dare kill them but the Prince, or who he orders. There are many small Rivers and Stone Bridges over them, near which stand Multitudes of Beggars, who ask Alms in the Name of the Idol *Jagranaut*, from whence the Town has its Name.

Between this Place and *Catak*, which lies to the *West*, is a very fine Road, whereon are several Monuments of zealous Pilgrims. One of these not long ago built himself a Tomb here, which 'tis said, he entered, and starved himself to death. Near the River of *Catak* there is a small Pagod

built in the Form of a Cupola, with 500 Holes in it, in which were as many Skulls. These were the Heads of the Conspirators who intended to betray the Town to *Aurengzebe*, and who were all executed by the Command of the King of *Orixa*. *Catak* is still a large City walled round, and has Cannon planted on its Walls, but neither of them are kept in good Order. The Figure is an Oblong Square, three Miles long and one broad. A Quarter Part of this Town is not inhabited, but the Ruins of many large Buildings are a sufficient Proof of its ancient Grandeur, when the Kings of *Orixa* kept their Court there. It has now a Garrison of 5,000 Foot and 500 Horse. The *East-India* Company had formerly a fine Factory here, some of the Walls of which were standing about 50.

Half Way between *Catak* and *Ballasor* is *Badaruck*, a Town of about 1,000 Houses. It has a small mud-wall Fort, but never a Gun. The Inhabitants are chiefly employed in Husbandry, spinning, weaving and churning.

Balasor stands on the Side of a River, and is but four Miles from the Sea by Land, but by the River twenty. There were formerly very good Factories here of the *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, but since the Settlements in *Hugly* River they are come to nothing. However they drive a pretty good Trade to the *Maldivia* Islands with Rice and other Grain. The Country abounds in Rice, Wheat, Grain, Doll, Callavances, Tobacco, Butter, Oil and Bees-Wax. Their Manufactures are various sorts of Cotton Stuffs, and others made with a Sort of Silk-grass, such as Gingham, Pinascos, &c.

The Kingdom of *Asem* or *Azem* lies to the South-East of *Bengal*, and was first discovered by sailing up the River *Lakia*, which proceeds from the Lake *Chemay*. It is one of the finest Countries in *Asia*, producing every Thing necessary for the use of Man. It has Mines of Gold, Silver, Iron and Lead. Plenty of Silk, Borax, and Gum Lack, with which they supply their Neighbours. They have no Gold Coin, but make use of Ingots in their Way of Trade. They are fond of Dog's Flesh as well as the *Chinese*, and make use of it in their most splendid Entertainments. They have Plenty of Grapes, of which they make no Wine, but Brandy or Arack. They have no Salt but what they get by burning of Herbs and the Leaves of a Sort of Fig-tree. Of these last they make Pot-Ashes, and use them for blanching their Silk.

The King has no Revenue but what proceeds from the mines. Every man may have four wives, who have each a distinct employment, to prevent any disputes among them. Both men and women are well-shaped, but their complexion is dark tho' not black. They go quite naked, hiding nothing but what decency requires; only they have a cap or hat on their heads, adorned with hog's teeth. They have holes in their ears large enough for one's finger, in which they hang jewels of gold or silver. The Men let their hair, which

is black, be long enough to fall on their shoulders, and the Women let it grow as long as it will. When any one dies, they bury all the jewels and bracelets in the same grave with the corps. They have Horses as well as Camels, but they make the greatest use of Elephants for carriage.

On the North Side of the Map is *Lassa*, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Tibet*. In the *Jesuits* Maps it is called *Tonker*, and in others *Lassa-tonker*. But our Traveller, whose Road is traced in the Map, and who has been at the Town, must needs know the true Appellation. *Tibet* called by the *Tartar*, *Barantola*, has been but little frequented by Travellers, tho' it was known to *Marco Paulo* in the thirteenth Century, and who gave a distinct Account of the religious Orders called *Lamas*. The Inhabitants of the *Mogul's* Dominions give it the Appellation of *Boutan*, and it is mentioned by *Tavernier*, under that Name, but he had no Knowledge of it except by hearsay. The most remarkable Custom among them is, that one Woman may have several Husbands at a time, not only of the same Family, but Brothers, and they excuse themselves by saying, that Women are very scarce in their Country.

Their Form of government since the late Wars with the *Eluth Tartars* is very uncertain; but before this the grand *Lama* was Master of *Tibet*. However he concerns himself in no worldly Affairs; he did act, and perhaps does now by a Deputy. This Priest or rather Pope, lives in a beautiful Pagod at *Dam*, to the North of *Lassa*, where he sits cross-legged on a large and magnificent Cushion, placed on a Kind of Altar. In this Posture he receives the Adoration, not only of the People of the Country but of vast Multitudes of Strangers, who flock from all Parts to receive his Blessing. He never returns the Salute, even of Princes, nor gets off his Seat, nor moves his Head. He only puts his Hand on the Heads of the Worshipers, who believe by that Means they obtain Remission of Sins.

His Followers believe that the God *Fo* lives in him, that he knows all Things, sees all Things, and is acquainted with the Secrets of the Heart. They likewise affirm, that he is immortal, and that when he seems to die, he only changes his Abode, and enters into a new Body. After this, it is no Wonder if they ascribe to him the Power of working Miracles. Some of the subordinate *Lamas* dwell in Pagods, of which there are a vast Number, besides those who live in families, for almost every House has a *Lama*. Those of the higher Sort enjoy great Ease, Plenty and Splendor, by Means of the Offerings which are made them. There are many *Lamas* among the *Tartars*, who pretend to the same Power, and receive the same Homage as those of *Tibet*.

The grand *Lama* wears a scarlet Cloak and a gilt Hat, and those of some of the inferior Sort, resemble Mitres, though they generally wear yellow Hats,

and their Cloaks are made of a kind of yellow Frize. Their Head and Beard are shaved very close, and they always carry a great Chaplet of Beads of red Coral or Amber, which they turn incessantly thro' their Fingers, as they mutter their Prayers. Some make a Vow of Chastity, and they have also Nuns under the same Vow. These are clothed much in the same manner, only they have Bonnets edged with Fur instead of Hats. The grand *Lama* is now generally said to be the *Prestor John*, so often mentioned by various Writers. They all believe the Transmigration of the Soul, but we are not acquainted with any farther Particulars of their Religion ; for they either cannot or will not disclose the Mysteries of their Worship. Some Authors have concluded from the Similitude of their Ceremonies with those of the *Romish* Religion, that that of *Tibet* is only a Corruption of the *Christian*, formerly propagated by the Nestorians in those Parts. But this the *Jesuits* will by no Means allow, for which they give some probable Reasons.

The Language of *Tibet* is quite different from those of the *Mongous*, and the *Manchow Tartars*, and that of their ancient Books varies from them all, insomuch that the *Lamas* cannot so much as read them ; nor do they understand the Characters, as they themselves have confessed. Some say, there are pretty good Physicians in *Tibet*, and that they have Astronomers who can compute the Motions of the stars, and foretel Eclipses. We have no Account of the Plants and Trees, nor even the Animals of *Tibet*, nor what Advantages might be drawn from thence by Way of Trade. The only Way of coming at this Knowledge is by the way of *Bengal*, for the Road from thence to *Lassa*, has been known a great while. However, this is certain, that there is a great deal of Gold brought from *Tibet* to *China*, which is of much greater Value than what comes from any other Country.

Tavernier affirms, there are several Sorts of Drugs brought from thence to Patna and particularly Rhubarb and Musk. The latter he affirms pays 25 per cent. to the great Mogul, at Gurgia, or Gurgiapore, the last Town in his Dominions on the Side of Tibet ; and the Merchants carry back from *Patna* yellow Amber, Coral, Bracelets of Tortoise and other Sea Shells. He pretends there are Caravans which travel from Patna to Tibet, which set out in December, and that they reach Gurgia in eight Days ; that in eight Days more they come to the Foot of high Mountains, travelling through thick Woods full of wild Elephants. Fifteen Miles beyond Gurgia, they enter the Territories of the Raja Nupal or Neepal who resides at a Town of the same Name, and then they march with great Difficulty over the high Mountains. But what he says of the Women always ready to carry Men on their Backs through the difficult Passes, is too ridiculous to mention, as well as of the Goats that carry the Baggage. On the other Side the Mountains, he affirms the travelling is easy and pleasant, with Plenty of things.

He tells us, that the King of Tibet has a Guard of 8,000 Men, and that he has fifty Elephants about his House. Then he speaks of the Adoration paid to this King, whom the Brahmins (he should have said the Lamas) would persuade the People that he is a God upon Earth. We forbear to relate several other Circumstances, which from later and better Accounts we know to be false. However, what has been said, may serve to shew what little Regard should be paid to the Description of Countries from the Reports of Travellers in general.





GEORGE AUGUSTUS FREDERICK FITZCLARENCE, FIRST EARL OF MUNSTER.

General Note-Book.



WE have been favoured by Mr. J. J. Cotton, M.A., I.C.S., with a very old and interesting portrait of George FitzClarence, first Earl of Munster. In the *Englishman* of 17th May 1909 there appears an unsigned article (written by Mr. E. W. Madge) on "The FitzClarences in India." That article contained many personal details relating to the family, which do not appear to have been collected before. The *Times of India Illustrated Weekly* of July 14th also has an article (signed "R.P.K.") on "The Earl of Munster," based mainly upon information afforded in the *Journal* kept by his Lordship in this country.

So late as Lord Elgin's Viceroyalty there was on His Excellency's Staff an extra A.-D.-C. in the person of Lieutenant Edward FitzClarence of the Dorset Regiment who subsequently was killed at Abu-Hamed (1897). Now to go back to the children of the Duke of Clarence, (afterwards King William IV,) and the celebrated actress, Mrs. Dorothy Jordan: no less than four of them came out to India. These were George, Henry and Frederick, as well as their sister Amelia, Viscountess Falkland, the wife of a Governor of Bombay. Of these four, the eldest, George, was the only one ever stationed at Calcutta. At the old Chowringhee Theatre (according to the *Bengal Annual* for 1836) he used to play the part of Fielding's *Mock Doctor* "bouncing with his cane," with excellent humour. Let us clip from Mr. Madge's article the following account of this "Soldier-Savant":—

George Augustus Frederick FitzClarence was born on the 19th January 1794, and was named after his uncle, the Prince of Wales, who came to the throne as George IV. As a cornet in the 10th Hussars, FitzClarence accompanied his regiment to Spain, and, during the Peninsular War, saw active service in the course of which he was wounded. On the 9th November 1814, he was banished to India along with his younger brother, Henry, for having signed a letter addressed to the Prince Regent complaining of the conduct of a Colonel Quentin. He was transferred to the 24th Light Dragoons, then in India, and became A.-D.-C. to the Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. While out here he made a careful study of Oriental languages and literature. During the Mahratta War of 1817-18 he found many opportunities of distinguishing himself, and, on peace being concluded with the Maharaja Scindhia, was entrusted to carry home the despatches from India. Travelling by the overland route he left Bombay on the 7th February 1818 by the Honourable East India Company's cruiser *Mercury* for Kossier, the Egyptian seaport. Crossing the desert, he explored the Pyramids, descended the Nile and reached London (*via* Alexandria and Malta) on the 16th June following. In 1819 Captain FitzClarence published an account of his travels, which was "dedicated, by permission, to H.R.H. the Prince Regent, as a humble token of the gratitude and attachment of the author." This

work, a lively and interesting narrative, gives evidence of close observation and contains some artistic plates, from sketches by the author himself, illustrating the regulation uniforms then worn in the Indian Army. On the 18th October 1819, FitzClarence married Mary Wyndham, described as a natural daughter of the third Earl of Egremont (not "Eglinton," as stated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*), and sister of his old brother-officer, Colonel Wyndham, M.P. In 1822 he was appointed Major of the 1st West India Regiment, and shortly after exchanged into the 6th Dragoons. He served as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Coldstream Guards (1825 to 1828), afterwards retiring as Lieutenant-Colonel unattached. On his father's accession to the throne in 1830, he was raised to the peerage as Earl of Munster (one of the titles of the Duke of Clarence) and Baron Tewkesbury in the United Kingdom, the status of the younger children of a Marquess being conferred on his brothers and sisters. The same year His Lordship was appointed A.-D.-C. to the King with the rank of Colonel. He was also for a short time Adjutant-General at the Horse Guards. In 1831 he was made Lieutenant of the Tower of London, but resigned the post not long after. He was next appointed Governor of Windsor Castle and a Privy Councillor. At the brevet, on the birth of the Prince of Wales (now King Edward VII.) he became a Major-General, and was soon after appointed to command the Plymouth district. He was, besides, a fellow of the Royal Geographical, Antiquarian, Astronomical and Geological Societies of London, and an original member of the Royal Asiatic Society. The Oriental Translation Fund, of which he was Vice-President, owed much of its success to him. He was also President of the Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts, and collected much information on the art of War among Eastern nations, but died before he had an opportunity to use the materials in the work which he had projected. In private life a most amiable man, he was of a very sensitive disposition, and it is said that he felt himself continually urged by his birth to what is now termed "the strenuous life." His Lordship suffered from gout, and, before the end came, was low and dejected in spirits. At his residence in Upper Belgrave Street on the evening of the 20th March 1842, he fired a pistol into his mouth. The weapon with which this act was committed was one of a pair presented to him by his uncle and bore on its handle the Prince of Wales's feathers in gold. He was buried in the parish Church at Hampton. A portrait of the Earl of Munster [not the one reproduced in this number] may be seen in the Rev. G. N. Wright's *Life and Reign of William the Fourth*.

K. N. D.

THE following interesting information is gleaned from a recent issue of the *Englishman* :—

A NEGLECTED GRAVEYARD IN ASSAM.

(From a Correspondent.)

Those who have travelled up and down the mighty Brahmaputra River cannot have failed to notice a picturesque little steamer station, called Bishnath. Some few hundred yards inland is a rocky eminence, covered with scrub jungle, and some lofty trees, beneath which are sheltered old ruined temples, corrugated iron houses and several dilapidated thatched buildings.

It stands out, in pleasing relief, with the high peaks of the Bhutan mountains, covered with everlasting snow, in the background to the monotonous

sand banks and *ekra* jungle stretching along the river banks, from Tezpur to Dibrughur. Few dream that in a little patch of ground some 50 yards square, on the eastern side, partly surrounded by a rotten bamboo fence insufficient to keep out the village goats and cattle, sleep in their last resting place pioneers of our rule in Assam, two officers of the old "John Company"; their tombs neglected and forgotten. Some residents of the Bishnath District have fruitlessly endeavoured to interest the local authorities in the matter. A few hundred rupees' grant would put this little graveyard in order, fence it in permanently to prevent desecration, and renovate the few mouldering tombs it contains. Both our Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner are military men, and surely the matter should appeal to them.

The tombs are pathetic in their extreme simplicity. Mouldering brick structures, with unpretentious black marble slabs, about one foot square, let in the eastern ends, with the following laconic and suggestive inscriptions, which will soon be obliterated unless attended to:—

"To the memory of Thomas Lee

Kennedy, Lieut.,

The H. B. C. Military Establishment

Obiit 22nd October, 1827.

Ætatis 24."

"To the memory of Lewis Van Sandan, Lieut.,

The H. B. C. Military Establishment

Obiit 12th August 1827.

Ætatis 23."

These were probably officers attached to the expedition sent against the Burmese, but whether they died in action or not is unknown. Their names, however, should be rescued from the oblivion which further neglect will entail.

When musing on companions gone,
We doubly feel ourselves alone.—*Scott*.

THE Calcutta Historical Society's visit to Chandernagore last year will doubtless often be recalled as one of the most delightful of their summer expeditions. It is all the more sad, therefore, to have to record the death of one who contributed in no little measure to its success. We refer to Monsieur Léon Tardivel, Mayor of Chandernagore, who, on that occasion, acted as the Society's genial host. The sad event occurred on Saturday, 29th May, coming with almost tragic suddenness, after a brief illness which scarcely gave his friends time to realise the gravity of his state.

Monsieur Tardivel had recently returned from Pondicherry to take part in the Municipal elections which were then proceeding in Chandernagore, and, up to the Saturday preceding his illness, was apparently in his usual good health transacting business with characteristic energy. He complained on that day of a severe pain in the back, and on the Sunday following was found to be suffering from a carbuncle. The French Civil Surgeon performed an operation on him at the "Hopital Margain" on Wednesday, and he was said to be progressing favourably, when blood-poisoning set in. His remains were interred in the little cemetery of the settlement on Whit Sunday.

In Monsieur Tardivel Chandernagore has undoubtedly suffered a severe loss, as he was the strongest and most energetic Mayor the Settlement has ever had, and his place will be difficult to fill. Always a strenuous worker, he actively interested himself in everything connected with the welfare and the embellishment of the town. He saved Chandernagore from the plague; and it was through him that the long deferred scheme for a filtered water-supply was brought to a head. The fact that he was twice elected Mayor between 1902 and 1908 speaks eloquently for the confidence he inspired, while as "*Conseiller-Général*" he soon made his influence felt at headquarters. As the *Journal Officiel* gracefully puts it: "Au sein de la première assemblée du pays, il avait su, grace à son intelligence, à son activité, acquérir une réelle influence et s'attirer la confiance de ses collègues"

He also found time for historical research, and it should interest the Historical Society to learn that it was his purpose to mark out the *enceinte* of Fort d'Orleans, and to rescue what remains of the *Jardin de l'Amitié* from the further ravages of time.

The endless sub-divisions of political parties in France, so puzzling to British minds, has no counterpart in French India. M. Tardivel may be said to have belonged to the party of true progress and liberty, whose candidates, M. Lemaire (a former Governor-General of French India) and M. Etienne Flandin were, largely through his loyal support, returned to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate as members for French India. Nor should it be forgotten, in the record of his public services, that he materially aided the former in cleansing the Augean stable of political life in Pondicherry and in restoring an honest tone to public elections.

The late Mayor is best remembered by the firm attitude he adopted when sedition was rife in and about Calcutta. The *entente cordiale* had no warmer supporter than he. A real friend of India, as evidenced by his presiding at a *swadeshi* meeting held at Chandernagore, at which most of the professional Bengali leaders were present, he was, to quote the *Englishman's* words, "an uncompromising opponent of all the elements of disorder which at one time threatened to make Chandernagore its base of operations,"



THE LATE MAIR OF CHANDERNAGORE,
MONS. LEON FARDIVEL.

Early last year his refusal to sanction an anti-British meeting, coupled with the active measures he took for the enforcement of the Arms Act, marked him out for the sinister reprisals of the anarchist. Then followed that bomb outrage, which has given an unwelcome notoriety to the neighbourhood of Rue Carnot, heretofore associated only with the romantic girlhood of Madame Grand.

Monsieur Léon Tardivel was only 42 years of age when he died. After leaving the Lycée at Toulon he was studying for the medical service, when the death of his father obliged him to return to India. He joined the Indo-Chinese Bank at Pondicherry and came on later to Calcutta as Accountant in the Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, and when this Bank was closed, joined the firm of Messieurs Jambon et Cie.

In private life Monsieur Tardivel's charming *bonhomie* and kindness of heart won him a host of friends, and he was the President of the local Club from its inception. The Calcutta Historical Society, who only last year enjoyed his kindly hospitality, cordially associate themselves with his fellow townsmen in tendering their respectful and heartfelt condolences to his bereaved widow and family.*

A. L.

THE following interesting notes have been sent us by Captain Sitwell, R.A., in the hope that their publication may lead to further enquiries being made :—

The early history of the Dum-Dum Factory is wrapped in great obscurity, but the following historical retrospect has been gathered from such scanty records as exist, and from the evidence of old employés, the oldest of whom began work in or about 1842.

(1) The registers of St. John's Church, Calcutta, which was the Parish Church of Dum-Dum till 1818, throw no light on the subject, as apparently Dum-Dum was, at that time, counted as part of the Fort William Garrison. As a matter of interest, it may be noted that the burial register up to 1818 shows only four names as belonging to the Ordnance Department, the first

* In this connection the following letter of sympathy will be read with interest :—

To

*His Excellency Monsieur Lévêque,
Governor of the French Settlements in India.*

Your Excellency,

I have heard with much regret of the news of the death of Monsieur Léon Tardivel, late Mayor of Chandernagor. Monsieur Tardivel, when Mayor of Chandernagor, rendered every assistance to my Government on more than one occasion. I shall be grateful, if your Excellency has no objection, if you will convey an expression of my sympathy to the family of Monsieur Tardivel.

Accept the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Sd.) MINTO.

Simla, June 1909.

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

being a Conductor who was buried in November 1778; the others being two Conductors and one Assistant Commissary.

(2) The Dum-Dum Registers, opened in 1818, show that Conductor John Watson of the Ordnance Department was here on 4th April 1824 and he is again referred to as Assistant Commissary of Ordnance on 21st January 1826. Perhaps it is not unsafe to assume that the Ordnance Department was established in Dum-Dum in 1824.

(b) An old native claims to have worked in the "Magazine" in 1842.

(3) In 1846 the Alipore records shew that there was a case about land for the Cartridge Factory at Dum-Dum and a certificate granted to Rai Gokul Chandra Sinha, Bahadur, Clerk in the Ordnance Manufacturing Depôt, by Lieutenant Young in October 1847 is still in the possession of his son, the present head clerk of the Factory.

(4) In 1850, according to an old native employé, who joined the Ordnance Department as an extra hand in that year, there were four Ordnance establishments in Dum-Dum.

(a) The "Magazine" used for making S.A. cartridges (the Mutiny greased cartridges of parchment paper), part of which is still standing in the present Factory enclosure. This was an L-shaped two storeyed building with a cellar. On the top storey were store rooms and the garrison cells; the bottom storey was an armoury and the cellar was the gun part of the Bengal Horse Artillery. The verandahs were used to make up S.A. cartridges and cannon cartridges, and young officers of the Horse Artillery used to receive instruction in the preparation of war-like stores; there was also a butt where a Bullock Battery used to practise.

(b) The "Mangal Koti," to the east of the Old Cap Factory; this was a brass foundry and pattern shed, and small brass guns and pistols were made there, or, more probably, repaired.

(c) "The Lohar Khana," to the south of the Old Cap Factory; wheels seem to have been the staple outturn, though probably the simple gun carriages of those days were also repaired there.

(d) The Old Cap Factory (Topi Khana) where cap composition was made and caps formed and filled. This was built at the time of the Lahore War by a Major LeRoux as a fives court. The Lohar Khana existed at that time near the present Post Office. The conversion to a Cap Factory must have synchronised with the abolition of flint and steel, but quill friction tubes were made before caps. The cap forming machines were small hand presses. All other motive power, according to my informants, was derived from a big wheel, turned by two men, which was fitted with a leather belt. They also state that in 1850 cap composition was purchased in the bazar at Entally, Calcutta, then made on the west bank of the Hooghly, opposite to

Cossipore, but some time before the Mutiny a man was engaged at Rs. 25 a month to make it in the Old Cap Factory. Cap composition was always brought to Dum-Dum at night, never in the day time.

All the above establishments appear to have been under one officer, and a Captain Beazely is mentioned as being in charge, but there was a Captain "Lalu" (? Barlow) in charge of the "Magazine" for some time.

(5) Between 1870 and 1874 the present Factory was under construction; the buildings were erected in the following order: (1) A Section, (2) C Section, (3) part of L, (4) the old gate, (5) tram lines. As the old gate was placed right across a main road in Dum-Dum a new road had to be made, which is to the south of the Factory, running past the Bengal Horse Artillery Monument. The Post Office appears to have been on the site of the present Annealing House, and the Post Master was a Mr. Williams, who was an employé in the Artillery mess till it was broken up.

(6) There is a Trophy Gun in the grounds of the Ammunition Factory Institute of the following description:—

Trophy Gun, Believed to have been captured at
Plassey.

Length over all, 14' 10"

From breech moulding to muzzle, 13' 6"

Diameters:—base ring 30'35", muzzle moulding 23'5"

Reinfree, 18", from breech mouldings, 28'8"

1" Behind, trunnions 25' 5"

Chase 1", in front of trunnions 24"

Neck 20", trunnions 8"

Bore 9'02", length of bore 12'8"

Calibre 92 pr., weight 10½ tons.

The bore is lined with ½ inch iron bars placed longitudinally and screwed with square brass screws, bearing the inscriptions:—

INSCRIPTIONS.

On breech:—"In the 18th year of reign, this gun was cast in Fort Assiri (Agra) in the time of Muttra dass, son of Ramjee."

Above trunnions "gun of Victory."

On chase:—"Abdul Zuffardin Muhamad Amrczi, Bahadur Alumgir Badshah Gazi.

1085 (A. H. = A. D. 1668)."

It formerly stood in the Barrack Square and was removed to its present position in 1907. The carriage is an exact reproduction of that in existence when the gun was moved, which was destroyed by white ants.

This gun is known as the Plassey Gun, but the authority for its title is doubtful.

Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.



THE date of the first foundation of the French settlement at Chandernagore has been the subject of much obscure discussion. In 1676, Streynsham Master describes how, after passing "the Dutch Garden," which apparently was on the site of the present Chandernagore (see accompanying chart), he came upon "a large spot of ground which the French had laid out as a factory, but which was now in possession of the Dutch." Mr. Irvine, in his marvellously learned edition of the *Storia do Mogor*, writes: "We hear of a Boureau at Calicut in 1669, probably our Boureau-Deslandes; and Caron, the first director in India (drowned 1674), is said to have sent him before 1672 to Bālāsor on the Bengal coast, whence he reached the Hughli, and then founded (so it is said) Chandarnagar on that river.... It is asserted (Weber 171) that in 1676 Deslandes fortified Chandarnagar, but this may be doubted." Stewart writes that it was "about the year 1676 the French and the Danes established themselves in Bengal," but there is evidence to show that the French were possessed of lands so far in the interior of Bengal as Dacca so early as 1674.* Mr. Irvine, although he has not concluded the matter, has thrown much new light on it. From his introduction and notes to the *Storia do Mogor*, I think it may be said that we have learned the name of the founder of Chandernagore.

MR. IRVINE gives a "Note on Boureau-Deslandes" as an appendix to his introduction. After the publication of the first three volumes of the *Storia do Mogor*, the learned editor discovered that there were two brothers of the names of Deslandes in the French Company's service in India. If a Deslandes came to Bengal in 1674 it must have been the elder brother, Joseph, who perished off the coast of Madagascar in the wreck of the *Soleil d'Orient* in 1681. Mr. Irvine acknowledges his indebtedness for information concerning the Deslandes to M. Paul Kaepelin, whose work *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et François Martin* may be expected to render obsolete many of the books which have been written on the French in India. The founder of Chandernagore died in the West Indies on 13th February 1706. It is worth recording that on 5th January 1698, the great François Martin passed Calcutta on a visit to his son-in-law at Chandernagore.

* See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II., Part I., page 212.

IN January 1676, André Boureau-Deslandes left France on board the *Vantour** and arrived at Surat on 16th October of the same year. After some years on the Malabar coast spent in re-establishing the French trade, he was despatched to Siam, and did not return to Surat until October 15th, 1685. At Surat he married the eldest daughter of François Martin. In 1688 he was appointed Director-General of Commerce in Bengal, and in the April of that year he left Pondicheri to take up his new duties. "In 1690," writes Mr. Irvine, "Deslandes had a dispute with the Portuguese Augustinian Friars at Hughli, who had sent their Christians to force their way into the French compound (*loge*). In consequence, Deslandes retired a few miles off to Chandarnagar, and built there another *loge*. This seems the real date for the foundation of the French settlement at Chandarnagar; until this time they had apparently, like the other Europeans, lived in or close to Hughli town. The date of the founding of Chandarnagar is somewhat obscure, but some light is thrown upon it by the English records. In a general letter from Hughli, dated 13th October 1686, para. 8, we hear that the French had sent orders to settle factories all over Bengal, to which Fort St. George, 1st September 1688, para. 44, adds the fact that they are endeavouring to procure the Mogul's *farman*. Again, in January 1689, para. 16, it is said that 'French trade is increasing by new settlements in . . . Bengal, though no factory has been built, nor any certain times agreed on. On 16th January 1692, the Calcutta Council write (para. 17) that 'the French had almost finished a large factory at Chandarnagar.' From Dhakkah (Dacca), under date 26th May 1690, we hear of a struggle between the Dutch and French, apparently about Chandarnagar. The French had bought a piece of ground 'for which they have a prime writing,' but the Dutch refused to let them build. After taking the dispute before the Nawab (the *nāzim*) and the *dewan*, it was referred to the king. Finally, by the Fort St. George General letter of 20th November 1691 (O.C. 5777) we are told that: 'the Mounseers have been long idle and quiet at Pullicherry . . . though their Chief in Bengall is building several large Factoryes, bigg enough for a mighty trade, but 'tis doubted too large for their stock.'"

THERE has been some considerable difficulty hitherto in determining the identity of the several members of the Renault family, and I therefore appealed to our friend Mr. A. Lehuraux to give us the benefit of his ever-ready assistance. Mr Lehuraux writes: "You question whether old Pierre Mathieu gave himself any title." What led me to raise the question was

* The *Vantour*. A good deal about this ship will be found in Monsr? Jules Sottas' exceedingly valuable work: *Historie de la Compagnie Royal des Indes Orientales*. 1664-1719.

the entry in the index to Mr. S. C. Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*. "Malleson calls him Renault de St. Germain, but he never signs himself as such." I am sure that the Society would wish to add an expression of gratitude to my own for the following letter and notes by M. Lehuraux :—

1/2, CHURCH LANE,
22nd November 1908.

DEAR MR. FIRMINGER,

Forgive the delay in answering your letter *re* the Renault family, as I was awaiting your return from Puri.

I have made a fairly diligent search in the archives of the *Etat Civil*, but unfortunately they are incomplete, there being no registers for several years. The marriage registers date from 1694 ; but between 1776 and 1833 there is a blank. This fact alone disproves the statement that the entry of Madame Grand's marriage exists. I don't know what gave rise to the mistake in Vol. II No. 2 of *Bengal : Past and Present*, but I might refer you to my notes in the same journal where it is stated that as regards the Verlée family no record exists with respect to the most famous bearer of that name.

Apropos of Renault. You question whether old Pierre Mathieu gave himself any title. The fact is he was Renault de St. Germain, and is invariably so styled in all official references, although also mentioned as plain Pierre Renault. He signs in both ways. I do not know the origin of the family, but it probably was an offshoot of the *petite noblesse*. As you know, in pre-Revolutionary days in France the rank of a noble descended to all his children. Though old Renault nowhere has any title of nobility, he and his were always "de St. Germain." His *brother* (godfather by proxy to one of his children) was Antoine Michel Renault *de Beauregard*.

You mention his *two* sons ; but as a matter of fact he had six, as well as two daughters—the issue of his *second* marriage. I also find mention of one Mr. Jean Jacques Renault de St. Germain, probably the son of Renault's first wife *obit. bet.* 1725 and 1730. In 1761 he is described as *oncle maternel* to a child of Renault's daughter, Mme. Chambon.

Of the six sons by his second marriage the eldest was Pierre Joseph, afterwards Captain of Infantry and Commandant of the garrison. He is generally referred to as plain Pierre Joseph Renault (*vide* Chambon, Rose Claire).

The name "de Chilly" I find is given to the fourth son, Mathieu François Xavier (*vide* Chambon) ; I append a family tree as far as I can gather it, and some copies of baptismal registers. Owing to the records being incomplete I could only obtain the marriage entry of Pierre Joseph.

It may interest you to know that a *brother* of old Pierre Verlée (and therefore uncle of Noel Catherine) died at Chandernagore on the 31st October 1770 æt. 14 or 16.

Yours sincerely,
A. LEHURAUX.

1733. *Renault de St. Germain, Joseph Pierre*.—Du quinzisième Décembre, mil sept cent trente-trois, Joseph Pierre, fils naturel et légitime de M. Pierre Mathieu Renault de St. Germain et de Claire Splanger Aranha, son épouse, habitant de cette paroisse, a reçu les cérémonies de baptême par moi soussigné Curé, ayant été baptisé le neuvième Novembre dans la maison par raison de danger et étant né le dit neuvième : a été Parrain Mr. Joseph Duplex, Directeur-Général de Bengale pour la Compagnie des Indes de France, représenté par Mr. François Xavier Albert, Commis de la dite Compagnie, et pour Marraine Mme Jeanne Albert, épouse de Mr. Vincent. fait ce dit jour et an en présence du dit directeur et des autres témoins soussignés.

(Signé) Albert Vincent, Albert Duplex (*sic*), Eléonore Albert, Albert Aumont, Thomas Duncht, Ursule Albert, Renault, fouquet de Boisclercq.

(Signé) P. fr. Duchamp Jés. Curé de N. D. de Chandernagor.

Année 1766. *Renault (Pierre Joseph) et Sinfray (Julie)*.—Le dix-neuvième de Novembre de l' année mil sept cent soixante et six, après la publication d'un ban, le R. P. Manuel Grand Vicaire du diocèse, ayant pour de justes raisons accordé l'exemption des deux autres ne s'étant trouvé aucun empêchement, je soussigné Curé de la paroisse de St. Louis de Chandernagor, ai, selon la formule prescrite par le St. Conseil de Trente, donné la bénédiction nuptiale à Messire Pierre Joseph Renault, Capitaine d'Infanterie, Commandant de la garnison de Chandernagor, fils légitime de Messire Pierre Mathieu Renault de St. Germain, Conseiller du Conseil Supérieur, second de ce Comptoir, ci-devant directeur-général des établissements Français dans le Bengale, et de dame Claire Splanger d'Aranha son épouse, et à demoiselle Julie Sinfray, fille légitime de Messire Armand Julien Sinfray, Conseiller au Conseil Supérieur, Secrétaire du dit conseil, et de dame Thérèse Ursule Dugra, son épouse, en foi de quoi j'ai signé : témoins les soussignés.

(Signé) J. L. Xavier de St. Estevan, Curé.

(Signé) Renault, Capitaine Commandant, J. Sinfray Renault, Renault, père, de St. Germain, Renault de Chilly. J. Bte, Motet.

1735. *Renault de St. Germain, Marie Jeanne Xavier*.—Marie Jeanne Xavier fille légitime de Mr. Pierre Mathieu Renault de St. Germain, Conseiller du Conseil de Chandernagor, et de dame Claire Splanger Aranha, son épouse habitant de cette aldée, née le vingt troisième d'Avril mil sept cent trente-cinq vers les huit heures du matin, a été baptisé (*sic*) le second Mai du dit an, et a eu pour Parrain Mr. Antoine Michel Renault de Beauregard, oncle paternel de

la baptisée, représenté par Mr. François Xavier Vieira, employé de la Compagnie de France, et pour Marraine Mme Jeanne Gaultron de la Bast, Veuve de Mr. Jacques Renault, grand mère paternelle, représentée par Mme Rose Pinhère Veuve de Mr. César l'Etoile, grand 'mère maternelle, fait par moi soussigné Curé, en présence du dit Sr. Pierre Renault surnommé, père de la baptisée, du Sr. François Xavier Vieira représentant le Parrain et de la dite dame César, et du P. Pons, Jésuite.

Signé Duchamp Jés. Curé de Chandernagor.

Renault, Fr. Vieira, Jean Franc Pons S.J.

1738. *Renault de St. Germain, Charles François Xavier.*—Charles François Xavier, fils légitime de Mr. Pierre Mathieu Renault de St. Germain, Conseiller de Chandernagor, et de Dame Claire Splanger de Aranha, son épouse, habitant de la paroisse, né le treizième Mars mil sept cent trente-huit, a été baptisé par moi soussigné Curé, le vingt troisième du dit mois et an, et a eu pour Parrain Mr. Charles le Godeux (*sic*) de Saimont, fils de Mr. Le Godeu Directeur-Général de la Compagnie de France, et pour Marraine Mdle. Marie Vincent, fille de Mr. Jacques Vincent ; ci-devant Conseiller du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry. A été present le Sr. Renault père et autres.

Signé Duchamp. Jés. Curé de Chandernagor.

Renault, Godeheu de Saimont, Maccatry, Albert de St. Paul, de Wemaer, Cohenat, Jean Fechera, Bruyère, d'Arbousin.

1741. *Renault de St. Germain, Pierre Nicolas François.*—Pierre Nicolas François Xavier, né le onze Décembre, fils légitime de Mr. Pierre Mathieu Renault de St. Germain, Conseiller du Conseil de Chandernagor, et de son épouse Mme. Claire Splanger d'Aranha, a été baptisé le vingt du même mois. Parrain Mr. Louis Nicolas de St. Paul, Second de la comptoir. Marraine Mdle. Marie Texeira.

Signé Cl. Stan. Boudier Jés. Curé, de St. Paul, Marie Texeira, Ant. Pinheiro, Renault, J. Vieira.

1743. *Renault de St. Germain, Mathieu Xavier.*—Mathieu Xavier, fils de Mr. Pierre Mathieu Renault de St. Germain et de dame Claire Splanger d'Aranha son épouse, né le dix-neuf Avril, a été baptisé le vingt-huitième du dit mois. A été Parrain : Mr. Mathieu Fournier, Conseiller du Conseil de Chandernagor, Marraine dame Louise Dirois Directrice (*sic*).

Signé A. Mosac, Jés. Curé.

Signé Louise Françoise Dirois, Messrs Fournier, de St. Paul, G. Guillaudeau, Renault, Boutet.

1745. *Renault de St. Germain, Louis Xavier.*—Louis Xavier, né le dix-sept Mai, fils de Mr. Pierre Mathieu Renault de St. Germain, Premier Conseiller du Conseil de Chandernagor, et de son épouse dame Claire Splanger d'Aranha, a été baptisé par moi soussigné. Ptre de la

Compagnie de Jésus, par ordre du Révérend Père Antoine Mosac, Curé de cette paroisse, le vingt-cinq du même mois.

Parrain : Mr. Charles Creuzé, la Marraine dame François Cordeire de Nise : Ont été témoins, Creusé, de St. Paul, Teixeira, Renault.

Signé Cl. Stan. Boudier de la Comp. de Jésus.

1746. *Renault de St. Germain, Manuel Xavier.*—Manuel Xavier fils de Mr. Pierre Mathieu Renault de St. Germain et de Dame Claire Splanger d'Aranha son épouse, né le vingt-six de juillet a été baptisé le quatre d'août. A été Parrain Mr. Charles de Glainville, Marraine Marie Renault sa sœur.

Signé A. Mosac Jés : Curé.

De Glainville, de St. Paul, Boutet, Allezon, Renault.

1754. *Renault de St. Germain, Georgia Rose Marianne Xavier.*—Le premier de mai mil huit cent cinquante-quatre je sous-igné Curé de la Paroisse de St. Louis a supplée les cérémonies du baptême à Georgia Rose Marianne Xavier, fille de Mr. Pierre Mathieu Renault de St. Germain second du Conseil, et de Claire Splanger d'Aranha son épouse, né le trente de Mars. Elle a été ondoyée en danger de mort par le P. Maury. A été Parrain Mr. Georges de Leyrit, Directeur, Marraine Dame Marianne Des Vaux.

Signé A. Mosac Jés. Curé.

Signé Duval de Leyrit, Maillard le Noir, Messieurs Fournier, Lenoir, Desvaux, J. Febvrier, Renault.

1766. *Chambon, Rose Claire Catherine.*—Rose Claire Catherine, fille légitime de Mr. Jean Baptiste Audebert Chambon, et de dame Marie Xavier Renault son épouse né à Chandernagor le vingt-cinq Novembre mil sept cent soixante-six, y a été baptisée le cinq Décembre suivant par moi soussigné Ptre. Missre. Vicaire de la Paroisse. A été Parrain Mr. Pierre Nicolas François Xavier Renault de St. Germain, oncle maternel de l'enfant ; marraine Dame Marie Rose Galliot de La Touche Nicolas. Ont été témoins Mr. Pierre Renault, ancien directeur de Chandernagor, François Nicolas Conser, Joseph Pierre Renault Capitaine d'Infanterie command. de la Garnison de Chandernagor, Michel Nicolas de Calnois, Jacques Nicolas de Forensi, *Mathieu François Xavier Renault de Chilly*, Jean Baptiste Motet, Mesdames Julie Sinfray Renault, Geneviève Perette l'Ange, etc., tous lesquels ont signé.

Signé N. Possevin, Pret. Miss. Vicaire.

RENAULT DE ST. GERMAIN.

Pierre Mathieu (1697-1777). " Directeur-Général de
Chandernagor et des
Comptoirs adjacents.

Président du Conseil de
Justice."

S/o Jacques [Antoine] Renault (*sic*) and Jeanne
Gaultron de la Baste. Born at Chatelrault in the
diocese of Poitiers (Poitou).

m. 1st [7th Oct. 1725] Marguerite le Griou, dau. of Pierre le Griou and Marie
Henu (a native of Bengal), and widow, for the *second*
time, of Jean François Lucas, Surgeon of the Company
of France.

Had issue : Jean Jacques Renault (?)

m. 2nd [4th Sept. 1730] Claire Splanger Aranha (d'Aragne), who d. 11th Oct.
1783 æt. 84 dau. of Rose Cesar Pigneiro and...?
(Aranha).

Had issue : (1) Joseph Pierre (b. 15th Dec. 1733).
m. (19th Nov. 1766) Julie Sinfray
dau. of Armand Julien Sinfray,
Member and Secretary of the
Superior Council, and Dame
Thérèse Ursule Dugra.

(2) Marie Jeanne Xavier (b. 23rd April
1735.)

m. (18th Feb. 1754) Mr. J. B.
Edme Audebert Chambon, Mer-
chant. She died 25th Aug. 1811.

Had issue : Several children.

(3) Charles François Xavier (b. 13th
March 1738.)

(4) Pierre Nicolas François Xavier
(b. 11th Dec. 1741.)

(5) Mathieu [François] Xavier (b. 19th
April 1743.)*

Styled "Renault de Chilly," *vide*
Baptismal entry of Chambon,
Rose. Claire dau. of his sister
Marie Jeanne Xavier. (See also
signature in marriage entry of
Pierre Joseph and Julie Sinfray.)

(6) Louis [François] Xavier (b. 17th
May 1745.)

* This is the Chevalier whose death in the Egyptian desert is described by Mrs. Fay.

- (7) Manuel [François] Xavier (b. 26th July 1746.)
 (8) Georgia Rose Marianne Xavier (b. 30th March 1754.)

AMONG the old houses doomed by immediate Calcutta improvements is the business place of Messrs. R. Scott Thompson and Co., at the corner formed by Government Place and the Esplanade East. In answer to an inquiry addressed by me to Messrs. R. Scott Thompson and Co., Mr. Eliot, the Manager of Mr. J. E. D. Ezra, the present owners of these premises, informs me that the oldest titled deed is dated February 1, 1788, when one Richard Johnson leased the property to Thomas Henry Davies. The latter, we know, was at one time Advocate-General. He came to the country without having obtained the Company's permission to reside and narrowly escaped being deported. He was the "Counsellor Feeble" of *Hicky's Gazette*. Richard Johnson held in plurality the posts of Contractor to the Army, Judge Advocate-General, and Assistant to the Governor-General.

WITH reference to what I have written in different numbers as to the history of the Presidency Jail, I have been asked to give at length the passage from *Hicky's Gazette* to which I have more than once referred. The date is April 21st to 28th, 1781, and the number of the "Gazette" is No. xiv. The letter will find further explanation when we proceed further with the publication of "the Chandernagore Papers."

MR. HICKY,

Although the securing of the French inhabitants of Chandernagore, in consequence of flagrant breach of Public Faith committed by those of Pondicherry, is in the General opinion a prudent and a necessary measure, and although, the House in which they are confined (highly exceptionable as is the Plan of it) certainly affords them more spacious and airy accommodations than in any other in which they could be kept either in the Fort, or in, or near Calcutta, yet as it was built for a common Jail (though hitherto not used as such) and is called by no other name, I fear that that very circumstance (seeing mankind are in matters of much more consequence governed by no weightier motives) may prove a pretext in the hands of the French Nation for exercising a severe retaliation on such of our countrymen as may hereafter fall into their hands. Whoever advised the measure in question, was not, I am persuaded, aware of the consequences it may produce. It is not very likely that the French will have a similar reason for confining our Prisoners, as the Government of this place at present has. An enemy, however, it cannot be supposed, will embarrass themselves with making nice distinctions, it will be alledged, that contrary to the engagements of Government, and to the practice of civilized Nations, we had torn the peaceable Merchants of Chindernagore from their wives, familys, and dearest connections; had dragged them to Calcutta, and committed them to a prison destined for the reception of Felons, that this was done without even any alledged delinquency on their part nay, after they had taken the oaths of Allegiance to our

Government, the breach of which had never been imputed to them ; that a Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain in the Service of the King, had shared the same fate, which nothing but a breach of their Parole (and that was not alledged) could justify. In retaliation of all which, I think it highly probable, that many of our unfortunate countrymen, may hereafter experience, all the horrors of a loathsome. . . . Dungeon. Although prudence may dictate the restraining of these People necessity does not. Their confinement in the new Jail Room, I am persuaded, might be found for them, in the Cantonments of Burrampore, even after the return of the 3d Brigade to that place, for they do not, all ranks included, amount to more than forty. If not, they could be sent to Mongheer or Dinapore, and a very slight guard of Seapoys would, from the remidieness of these places, suffice to take care of them. At any rate, it may be future mercy to ourselves, to remove them from the Jail (merely because so called) to any other place not liable to that objection.

I am, Sir,
Your humble Servant,
ANTI-GALLICAN.

MY friend, Mr. S. C. Sanial, in writing to the *Statesman* to impeach the accuracy of Dr. Busteed and myself, professes to have documentary evidence to prove that numbers of the *India Gazette* was published prior to October 1780. I hope that Mr. Sanial will be so kind as to furnish us with a copy of his MS. In the meanwhile the following letter, now published for the first time, will tend to incline us to remain faithful to Dr. Busteed ; the *italics* are my own.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL;
AND THE COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

Calcutta, Oct. 4th, 1780.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Understanding that our plan of an *intended* publication of a newspaper, has met with the favor of your approbation, we are encouraged to take the liberty of requesting the additional one of your further patronage ; by granting us permission to send it to our different Subscribers, out of Calcutta; by the Dawk, free of Postage ; on our paying annually to the Postmaster-General such a certain sum as you shall think proper to direct : we likewise engage that no other article or writing whatsoever shall go under the said Cover with the newspaper, or newspapers. and that each cover shall be endorsed *India Gazette* ; as well as seal'd with our joint names in Persian : or indeed complying with any regulations you may please to order.

We also humbly beg leave to take this opportunity of soliciting the favor of our being appointed Printers to the Hon'ble Company, at Calcutta ; which should you think proper to confer, it shall be our study and endeavour to do our duty ; by executing with correctness and dispatch, all orders sent to our care.

We have the honor to be with the greatest Respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient and humble servants,
B. MESSINK.
PETER REED.

IN the years 1877 and 1878, Mr. H. Beveridge published in the *Calcutta Review* a memorable series of articles entitled "Warren Hastings in

Lower Bengal." It was to the criticism of the last two of those articles that Sir James FitzJames Stephen addressed himself in his well-known *Story of Nuncomar and the Impeachment of Hastings* (1885). In 1886 Mr. H. Beveridge published his reply to the *Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar; a Narrative of a Judicial Murder*. It is highly probable that but few of these eminent scholars, who have professed themselves satisfied with Sir James' argument, are even aware of the existence of Mr. Beveridge's reply: and this is not as it should be, for, even if we hold that Mr. Beveridge has failed to prove his case, his book, although spoilt by its tone of advocacy, is full of important but little known facts, and is the work of a most industrious student. In the articles dealing with "Warren Hastings in Lower Bengal" Mr. Beveridge gives us a rapid analysis of the Warren Hastings papers preserved at the British Museum. The first of the articles deals with the years 1750—1765, a period which although it is naturally rushed through by writers who have the imperial interest of Hastings' career more fully in view, is of no small importance to those interested more especially in Bengal. Mr. Beveridge, of course, repeats the blunder made by Greig, and marries Hastings to the widow of Captain Campbell, an officer killed at the carrying of the Fort of Budge-Budge, but he notes that the lady "must have married a second time in 1757," not in 1756, as stated by Greig, for Captain Campbell was killed at Budge-Budge in December 1756.* In 1899 the Rev. H. B. Hyde showed us that the widow whom Hastings married, was Mary Buchanan, and that discovery has been amplified by "Sydney Grier." In a letter written by Hastings at the close of the year 1758, and cited in this article, there is a passage which enables us to get a little closer to the understanding of that puzzling inscription to the memory of the first Mrs. Warren Hastings placed over her canopied-grave at Berhampur. The inscription is as follows:

In memory of
MRS. MARY HASTINGS
and her daughter

* With reference to Mrs. Campbell, the following extract (hitherto unprinted) from a Public General Letter of the Court of Directors, dated 8th March 1758, is of interest:—"A memorial having been presented to us by Mrs. Mary Campbell, widow of Captain Dugal Campbell who was killed at the attack of Budg-bugee, praying that we would interpose on her behalf that she and her Fatherless child may be considered in the distribution of the allowance made the Troops by the present Subah of Bengal; although you have not given us the least intimation as to the manner of distributing the Subah's Bounty, yet we cannot suppose you have committed to take some care of the Familys of those persons who have unfortunately lost their lives in the service, although previous to the defeat of the late Nabob; we shall therefore expect to hear that they have been considered, as in justice they ought to be, in the said distribution, and in course that a reserve has been made among others for Mrs. Campbell, you are therefore to send us exact accounts of the Proportions allotted to the several persons and what parts thereof are to be paid here in England." This extract might well elicit further inquiries at Whitehall.

ELIZABETH
 who died 11th July, 1759
 in the 2——year of her age.
 This monument was erected
 by her husband,
 Warren Hastings, Esquire
 in due regard
 of her memory.
 Restored by the Government
 of Bengal, 1863.

C. R. Wilson in his *List of Inscriptions* notes that "who" is a mistake, the original having been "she," the date of death and the age (2 and a blank) referring to Mrs. Hastings. In the letter referred to, Hastings writes: "My wife was brought to bed of a daughter, the 5th of last October, whom I have intended to have called by the name of my benefactress, Mrs. Creswick, (the name is Creswiche), but she was carried off by a sudden fit of sickness on the twenty-third day after her birth." October the 28th would thus be the day of Elizabeth's death. Beveridge makes Hastings mention his wife's death to Clive in a letter dated July 4th, and it is I suppose for this reason that, in giving the inscription, he puts a note of interrogation against the date "11th July 1759." I suppose Malleson must have relied on Beveridge for, as "Sydney Grier" writes, Malleson "endeavours to prove that Hastings was also mistaken as to the date of her death, on the ground that he mentions his loss in a letter to Clive dated July 4th. Had he consulted the British Museum copy in the letter-book, he would have seen that it is plainly dated July 14th."

THE letter referred to continues: —

"I have already informed you of my appointment as second in Council at the Factory of Cossimbazar. My partner, Mr. Sykes, is the third, and the business of the Company's investment has been principally carried on through our hands since the late revolution. The beginning of last August produced another change in my situation. I have since that time resided at the station in the quality of agent for the Company's transactions with Government which is if not the most profitable, is one of the most creditable employs in this service. I still retain the post of second Export Warehousekeeper at Cossimbazar, where my family have continued to reside from my appointment to this place."

As Resident at the Durbar, Hastings would have resided at the Moradbag,* and Mr. Beveridge writes "the earliest letter of his, preserved in the British Museum, is dated Moradbunj, 12th November 1757, Moradbunj, as Bolts tells us, being "a garden of the Nabob, some distance out of Murshedabad."

* See Map facing p. 199 of *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. II, Part I.

THE site of the Moradbag were indicated to the Society on the occasion of our visit to Murshidabad. It lies on the side of the river opposite to the present Palace, to the north of the Hera Jheel and the Monsurgunj Palace—the Emtajmahal, “big enough to accommodate three European monarchs,” Seraj-ud-daula's favourite residence, whence in the dead of night that unfortunate prince, accompanied by the faithful Lutfunnissa, made his soon-spiced flight. Not a vestige now remains of the old Moradbag palace which Clive inhabited after Plassey. Beveridge writes: “Hastings became resident at the Court of Murshidabad in July or August 1758, but apparently his formal appointment was not made till some eighteen months later, for I find a letter dated 14th December 1759, signed “your loving friends,” by Clive and others conferring the appointment on him. On 12th August 1758, Hastings writes to Clive:—“Mr. Watts acquainted me, when he was at this place, that he had orders from the Board of Calcutta to appoint me resident for the Company at Moradbunj in the room of Mr. Scrafton, who has accordingly delivered over the management of the affairs of this place to my charge.”

FROM this point Mr. Beveridge breaks off to trace the origin of Hastings' dislike and suspicion of Nanda Kumar. This brings me to mention the fact that Mr. Talboys Wheeler, in a memorandum on the subject of ancient documents preserved in the Foreign Department, gives this interesting account of the Secret and Separate Proceedings, 26th April 1761 to the 27th September 1762. “The volume of proceedings on the early forgeries of Nundcomar is a curious record connected with the administration of Mr. Vansittart, and is important on two grounds; first, as illustrative of the secret intriguing, real or imagined, which was carried on between the Hindoo chiefs in the service of the Nawab and the Military Commanders in the army of Shah Aulum; and, secondly, as indicating the origin of the long-nourished hatred of Nund Coomar against Warren Hastings, which did not find full expression until many years afterwards. It has already been pointed out that the policy by which the Nawab Aliverdy Khan had been enabled to retain his Nawabship free from rebellion was that of reserving all important posts for Hindoos alone, to the exclusion of the Musslemans. His successor, Surajadowla, did not exactly reverse this policy, but he offended and insulted both parties, and was consequently ousted by a union of both parties, Meer Jaffier, however, and his successor, Meer Cassim, both attempted to recruit their respective treasures at the expense of the wealthiest individuals among the Hindoos. It was under such circumstances, and whilst the English and Meer Cassim was still at war with the ‘King,’ Shah Aulum, that some extraordinary letters were discovered on the person of a hurkara, which seemed to imply that Rajah Doolub

Ram and another of the Setts, named Ram Churn, were carrying on a treasonous correspondence with one of the Military Commanders of the camp of Shah Aulum. The present volume contains the proceedings of Government in this matter, from which it may be gathered that for a long time Mr. Vansittart and his Council were divided upon the subject until about a year afterwards, when Mr. Warren Hastings was appointed Member of the Council. Strangely enough, as it now appears, one of Mr. Hastings first acts after his arrival in Calcutta was to investigate this case; and his enquiries led to the discovery that the Native correspondence was a forgery in which the notorious Nund Coomar was deeply implicated. The object of Nund Coomar in forging these letters was apparently to ruin those influential personages in the eyes of the English, probably to get rid of parties who appeared to him to be standing in the way of his advancement, and possibly to afford an excuse to Meer Cassim for plundering their private property. How this unprincipled intriguer sought to revenge himself many years after by bringing charges of corruption against Warren Hastings, and how in the end he was himself convicted and executed for a repetition of the same crime of forgery, are matters of general history."

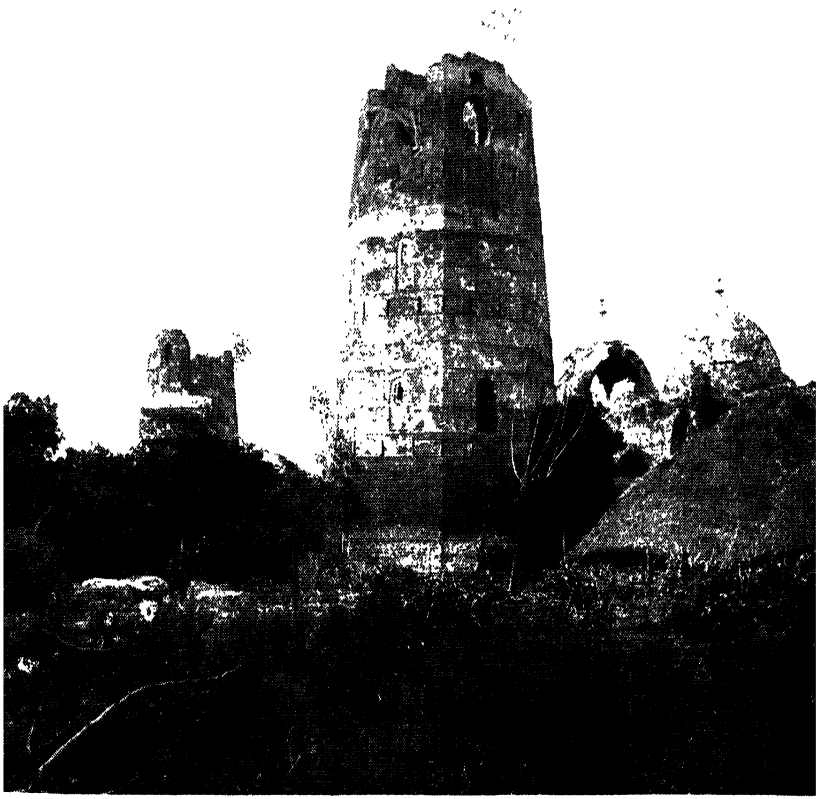
THE papers referred to by Mr. Wheeler I have seen, and it was my intention to request the Government of India to permit me to transcribe them, and publish them in this place, but the lack of time prevented my going further into the matter. There are also a number of papers in the Home Department relative to this business which would need to be included in any adequate account of Nanda Kumar's early forgeries. Mr. Beveridge may not have seen Mr. Wheeler's memorandum, but it is astonishing that he should have overlooked what the Rev. J. Long had to say on the subject in his *Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government*.

ON page 39 of Vol. III, I had occasion to make mention of Samuel Oldham, the once famous Calcutta undertaker, to whom Dr. Busteed refer on page 172 of the latest edition of the *Echoes*. On the principle "when found make a note of it," I would refer the reader to an account of a case in the Court of Chancery, *Freeman vs. Fairlie*, given in the *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 26 and pp. 760—63, Vol. xxvii., pp. 242-3. The case of *Freeman vs. Fairlie* seems to be of great legal importance, and it may be taken for granted that it is well known to those members of our society whose profession is the law. Apparently in 1825, John Eboral, Lord Wellesley's coachman, claimed to be Oldham's heir-at-law, and after much litigation in the year 1828 was established in his fine inheritance by a decision given by the Lord Chancellor.



OLD EUROPEAN GRAVES AT JOOIGHOPA.

(Photo. by L. Emerson, Esq., L. S.)



THE RUINS OF THE KHAYRA MASJED, MURSHIDABAD.
(By courtesy of the Proprietors of the TIMES OF INDIA ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY.)
See Bengal, Past and Present Vol. II, Part II, pp. 203-5.

An article on the subject of this case might well be written for *Bengal : Past and Present*, for in the investigation much would doubtless be discovered as to the history of old Calcutta houses.

IN my last "Leaves" I published some letters of Colonel Henry Watson. My friend, Mr. Herbert Stark writes to call my attention to an advertisement in *Hicky's Gazette* (January 27th, 1781) which may profitably tax the ingenuity of the Calcutta antiquarians. It runs as follows:—

"FOR SALE. That extensive spot of ground pleasantly situated opposite Mr. Wheeler [Wheler] Mr. Stark, and Colonel Watson's Garden Houses. Is completely inclosed beautified by two large canals and a variety of trees, a few hundred yards distant from the river of which any house that may be built upon it will command a prospect. For further particulars enquire of Mr. W. Williams at the Commissary-General's office, where the title deeds are to be seen."

Where were these houses? My friend notes that the Mr. Stark here mentioned was Prothonotary in the Supreme Court, and that he died at sea on January 22nd, 1792. With Edward Wheler, the member of Council, we are well acquainted, and a good deal has been written about him in these pages. He died in Calcutta on October 10th, 1784.

BY the kindness of Mr. T. Emerson, I.C.S., I am enabled to reproduce here a photograph of what is believed to be the oldest European graveyard in Assam, Jogighopa—called by Montgomery Martyn Yogihopa—lies nearly opposite Goalpara on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, and I understand that it was earlier even than Goalpara an outpost of European commerce with the Assamese. Unfortunately the tombs, though numbered bear no inscriptions.

IN my last "Leaves" I printed for the first time some documents which throw light on a very obscure but most interesting subject—the earliest European commercial adventurers in N.-E. Bengal and Assam. One of these was a certain Mr. Lear (See *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. III, p. 369). The earliest mention of this gentleman that I have been able to trace is in a letter from Mr. Hugh Watts, dated 16th May 1763 in which he request the permission of the Governor and Council that Mr. George Lear may be permitted to reside at Rungpur as his agent. Mr. L. G. Glazier, in his exceedingly valuable *Report on the District of Rungpur* (1873), gives the following letter from Warren Hastings to Mr. Charles Purling, who was Collector at Rungpur (1771-1773 and 1777-1779.)

FORT WILLIAM,

7th November, 1778.

SIR, -

I learn from report that Mr. Lear, in order to recover some outstanding balances, has engaged in hostilities with the people of Assam, and actually marched an armed force into their country. I am very desirous of knowing the truth of this report, and therefore request you will inform yourself minutely of every circumstance concerning it, and transmit to me the account of it, that I may either bring it before the Board, and take such other steps as may be proper.

In the meantime, should Mr. Lear be actually engaged in any measures the consequence of which may appear to you alarming, I recommend it to you to endeavour to check them immediately. I understand that Gowalpara is under Dacca, and it may therefore be necessary that you correspond with Mr. Shakespear on this subject.

I am, etc.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

No answer to this request for information can be found among the records of the Home Department, but the letter is valuable because it belongs to that horizon of statesmanship which lay far beyond the ken of Hastings' official foes. As Mr. Glazier's book has long been out of print, I shall, without any further apology, quote from him.

"Trade in salt to the amount of several lacs of rupees was carried on with Assam. A resident on the part of the Company was stationed on the confines of Rangamatty, at Gowalpara, and there was a chowkey, a trade post on an island in the centre of the Brahmaputra, to which the Agent of the Assam Government, a Buroah, sent down his goods in boats, and got salt in return. The articles imported, were muggabhooties, or dhooties' made out of the Assam moongha silk, stick-lac, cotton, pepper, and ivory. The merchants engaged, according to a list of 1780, were Lear, Dow, Williams, Rausch, Whrattend, Maccullum and Bigger. Our mortuary returns show that Mr. Bigger died at Jugegopah, in Rangamatty, in that same year; and the names of Dow and Rausch occur in the following list of interlopers sent to Government in 1783, the first of a periodical series.

"List of Europeans, not covenanted servants of the Hon'ble Company, residing in the District of Rungpore.

Mr. William Dow, merchant, has permission from the Hon'ble Governor-General to carry on the trade at Jugegopah, commonly called the jars trade.

Mr. Daniel Rausch, a German agent for Mr. David Killican at Gowalpara, has no special permission.

Mr. John Marshall, a German clerk to Mr. Edward Ephraim Pote, commercial resident at Rungpur, has no particular permission.

Mr. John Taylor, agent for Mr. Daniel Rausch at Mogulhaut, has no particular permission. There is a Prussian, of the name of Christopher Poole, who

was formerly a sergeant in the Hon'ble Company's service, but received his discharge ; he has for many years resided at Maria, in pergunnah Bodah."

From particulars supplied on the requisition of the Collector, we further learn that Mr. Dow came out to India in 1773 with a relation, Colonel Dow, and in addition to his Assam trade, he established a factory at Cowrieaon in this [Rungpore] district, where he died in June 1788, aged about 40 years ; and Mrs. Dow followed him to the grave in the following month, aged about 38 years.

Daniel Rausch, elsewhere called a Dane, came to India in 1766 as ecclesiastical return, forwarded for the register of the new church in Calcutta in 1787, contains an entry of one marriage, that of Mr. Rausch to Miss Mayo at Rungpore in October 1782. He was killed during an expedition into Assam, according to Buchanan.

Christopher Poole was discharged from the army in 1775, after having served the company fifteen years. He traded in timber and salt, and was murdered by dacoits in 1789.

To recur from this digression to the Assam trade the Company ever and anon spread consternation in the merchant camp by pressing out the trade as a monopoly. One formed in 1780 lasted three years, till the Directors looked it on the strong representation of the merchants ; but again, in 1787, they gave the salt trade to Mr. Hugh Baillie, the resident, with permission to the other merchants to trade in other things. Mr. Dow strongly protested and pointed out that as salt was the only article taken by the Assamese, the concession to trade in other merchandize was of no value. He laboured hard to prove that the trade was a losing one ; and a balance sheet for the trade of one year gives a good view of the nature of the transactions carried on.

The frontier in this direction were in a very disorganized state. Mr. Baillie, when Collector of Gowalpara in 1789, was attacked by a recalcitrant zemindar with a force of barbardoges, headed by an old Company's soubahdar ; the town of Gowalpara and the factory warehouses were burnt, and one European and "several black people" were killed in repelling the attack.

The Assam Government was in the last state of decrepitude. The brahmanising of the country had deprived the people of that fierce courage which had spread terror among the Mahomedans. There were constantly laid charges against the merchants of making raids into the country for recovery of their dues ; the charges were in a great measure exaggerated, got up by one merchant against another, but "vagrant, topasses or black Portuguese soldiers," adventurers from North-West, Sikhs and others, who congregated here, afforded ready materials for such expeditions. Mr. Lear's hostilities with Assam in 1778, *vide* Mr. Hastings' letter, is one case in point ; and on two occasions in 1782 and 1791, charges were brought against Rausch of having invaded Assam ; and in the latter instance, it was said he had taken the Royal prisoner, killed many persons, and carried off property to the value of ten to twelve lacs of rupees. This accusation he refuted, ascribed its origin to the jealousy of the Greek merchants, Parthenyo and others ; but if he had not plundered in person, he had, by countenancing one Krishna Narayan precipitated matters in Assam, and necessitated the occupation of the country by British forces.

FROM Mr. Glazier's now scarce Report, it may be useful to quote the following passage (pp. 45-6) :—"The first Collector of Rungpore was Mr. Gross who formed the heavy settlement of 1178 B. S. (1771-72 A. D.) ; he died here in April 1771. Mr. Gross had not been here long, for in 1176

B. S. (1769-70 A. D.) there were three native Collectors, Modun Gopal and Morzir Hossein Rezor. Mr. Purling came for his first incumbency some time in the year 1771-72, some time after the death of Mr. Gross, and we find him still here in 1773. He was succeeded by a Mr. Harris; but when that occurred, or how long the latter acted, there is nothing to show; when Purling came a second time in 1777, the collections of the district had for some years been under the Provincial Council of Dinagepore or Purneah; the Council had at first time the former name, but as it was located at Purneah it became subsequently called by that name. In 1779 Purling went to Oude, and in 1781 he was put on the Board of Commissioners for the management of the Dutch East India Company's possession at Chinsurah, which had been taken in war. He was succeeded as Collector of Rungpore by George Bogle, who had in 1774 been on a Mission to Thibet, passing through Bhootan with great difficulty. His manuscripts relating to this Mission, are in the library of the British Museum. Bogle died early in 1781, and Goodlad, who had been assistant here for two years, was appointed Collector and Judge; while the native officers of fouzdar and tannadar were abolished. Goodlad remained here until 1784, when he was succeeded by [Peter] Moore. He was for a year the Collector of Ghoraghat, and then we lose sight of him. Moore remained not quite two years, and left for Europe; and early in 1786 Day Hart McDowall was appointed: he remained until the close of 1789, when he also retired from the service to Europe. He writes in 1788, that he had come out in 1770 as a writer, and had by that time attained the status of a senior writer. Purling came for the third time in 1790, and commenced the decennial settlement: but he had to leave an account of ill health in December of that year, and we get news of his death in the spring of 1791. He was succeeded by Mr. Lumsden who completed the settlement; and when he left in the spring of 1793 for Chuprah, James Graham, who had been assistant for some years, became Collector. The office of the Judge and Magistrate was, at the same time, separated from that of Collector, and Mr. Leslie was appointed first District Judge.

"The Collectors drew a salary of sicca Rs. 1,200, with Rs. 300 for house rent, which was modified later into Co.'s Rs. 1,500 with house rent Rs. 150; and they had, besides, a commission on the revenues, amounting to one per cent. up to ten lacs, but subject to a deduction of one per cent. on all uncollected balances. This yielded from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 8,000 per year extra. The travelling allowance was Re. 1-1 per mile, or Rs. 12 per day. The Collector got, besides as Judge, one-tenth for all the fees collected for suits in his court; but they were very few. The amount of fees drawn in one year by the Judge was Rs. 112 only. In view of this return, one of the court regulations of 1781, giving authority to inflict corporal punishment

up to 20 rattans for trivial and groundless complaints 'to deter chicanery and intrigue,' seems hardly called for, though such a rule might be useful in the present day."

MR. GLAZIER'S report contains not a few old letters, and some of these we hope to be able to quote in a future number of *Bengal: Past and Present*. Goodlad's report on the insurrection of 1783 is particularly interesting. "My situation for the month past has been," he writes, "a more critical one than ever any Collector yet was placed in. I have had a riot to quell the most formidable that ever happened in Bengal. Had I adhered solely to the little authority invested in me, everything fatal was to be expected. The officers of the mofussil were murdered, wherever they could be found, and the whole authority of Government was entirely annihilated." The report which tells us of the spirited action of a Lieutenant MacDonald well deserves reproduction. John Elliot's report (September 1789) on the "Sanyassis," whom he describes as extortionate money lenders is another interesting paper. A report made by "a very intelligent person" who disguised as a fakir, visited Nepal, in March—July 1786, and an account of ruins of Gour may also be noted for reference. It is a curious thing that Mr. Glazier seems to have been unaware of the fact that Rungpore had a "Resident" as well as a "Collector." In 1777 I have found a Mr. Edward Smith occupying the former post—probably a purely commercial one. The reader will remember that a vast amount of valuable information concerning "the Zila of Ronggopore" is buried away in Vol. III of Montgomery Martin's *History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India* (1838). There is probably no part of India where archæological research is so much needed as it is in the district between Rungpore and Jalpaigori.

IT is to be regretted that in Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley's admirable volume on Cuttack in the *Bengal District Gazeteers* no room has been found for mention of the old English factory at Cuttack. The records at the India Office would in all probability reveal the story of that factory in ample detail, but, without going home for research, there are a number of papers relative to the Cuttack factory preserved at the Imperial Records Department and given by the Rev. J. Long in his *Selections*. Here for instance is a letter.

CUTTACK,

Night of 24th July, 1757.

TO THE HON'BLE ROGER DRAKE, ESQ., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR, AND COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—

I beg leave to congratulate you on our late success, and humbly refer to your consideration whether I may hoist our flag here or not. Should your honor, etc., think proper to have a continual Resident here, I have been offered the choice of any place I think fit for our

purpose ; as we are seldom likely to be free from the intrigues of the French, and as these people are very desirous of our having a factory here, I think we should not lose this opportunity. Our flag will induce numbers to reside here, and the conveniences arising from it will endear them to our interest ; they are in great want of all Europe commodities, and by having them procured by our means will establish them in our interest. Accompanying this you will receive letters from Rama Pundit and Dedar Ally. Rama Pundit has much power, is a good man and begs your favor, has forces at his command, and is ready to employ them as you shall give your orders. Dedar Ally is young, but as he is Mirza Salle's son, and the present acting Nabob is much respected. At my first arrival here he was represented as much deficient in understanding, but I find no such thing ; he is extremely good natured, and has done and is always ready to do me all favours in his power. The news of Vizagapatam's surrender to Mr. Bussey has not yet reached here. Since my last nothing material has occurred I therefore beg leave to conclude

With all due respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN BRISTOW.

A little later on, we find at Cuttack, that once well-known Charles Stafford Pleydell, whose changeful career is briefly sketched in a footnote on p. 486 of the present number of *Bengal : Past and Present*. Then we find at Cuttack the George Gray who was to be one of the leaders in the Company's Servants' warfare with Lord Clive. The Consultation of Government, April 10, 1759, record :—

Agreed we address Mr. Gray and acknowledge the receipt of his favor of the 31st ultimo, that as there is a prospect of the Morattoes coming into these provinces, it will be necessary we should be informed frequently of their numbers, motions and designs, which can be not otherwise effected than by his continuance in those parts. That the principal view in establishing a Residency at Cuttack was to obtain frequent and early intelligence of all occurrences to the southward of these provinces, as also to facilitate and expedite the correspondence with Vizagapatam, etc. These ends will be frustrated if he leaves Cuttack. We would, therefore, have him remain there while it can be done with safety to himself, and if we are rightly informed the Chout has been duly paid the Morattoes, and their entering this province at this time is not with any hostile view.

Among the Midnapore Records, which I am at present publishing in this Journal there is a letter from Governor Verelst to George Vansittart, dated 19th March 1768, in which the former writes :—" As I hope soon to gain possession of Cuttack, I would rather choose to defer taking any measures regarding Singh-boom till that time." Casual references of this kind serve to show how little we still know of the real story of the building up of British Bengal. The old Mofussil Records of the Province are perishing. We have at the present time an unique opportunity of securing for the future the dying confession of the past. May I venture to suggest that members of our Society would perform a most useful service if they would secure at least two new subscribers to *Bengal : Past and Present*, and so enable the Society to send out four times in each year a larger and a better issue ?

WITH reference to Samuel Middleton's grave at Pirpainti. (See *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. III, p. 394.) Mr. de Cosson writes as follows :—

DELHI,
2nd July, 1909.

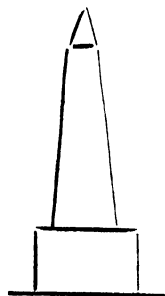
DEAR MR. FIRMINER—

I have found old Sam Middleton's monument. As I thought the *Pointi* referred to in "Seir Mutaqherin" is Pirpainti, the station on the Loop Line of the E. I. R. in the North-East of Bhaghalpur. Mr. P. R. Scott, of Pirpainti (Peer Pointee) Indigo Factory, to whom I wrote answered as follows :—"There is a high monument on a hill here to the north of my bungalow, no inscription on it, but it looks as if some saheb had been buried there. It is about 20 feet high and all by itself. It is just possible it is the grave of Samuel Middleton, I am certain it is not a Mahomedan grave." And he sends a rough sketch like this.

Mr. Scott has also sent me the inscriptions on the graves in the little cemetery at Pirpainti.

P.S.—I would suggest the Bengal Masons taking this matter up and repairing the Monument and inserting a suitable inscription Its identity can easily be proved.

Skinner's old church here (St. James) has just fallen in.



Yours sincerely,
A. DE COSSON.

IN a letter I have recently received from Mr. Stephen Wheeler, that gentleman writes with reference to the addition of Lander's elegy to the inscription on Rose Aylmer's tomb :—

"Possibly the Indian press will take note of the added inscription, and I trust they will stick to facts. There was very imaginary speculation in the *Times of India* a few weeks ago. The idea that Rose was sent to India to get her out of Lander's way is sheer nonsense. She was only a girl of sixteen, I think, when Lander knew her, and there was no love making. This is what Lander declared himself in a letter to Rose's half-sister which I printed in my first volume of Lander's letters : and with the exception of the elegy and lines receiving a lock of hair, it is almost [all the] authentic evidence relating to their friendship. The Rose so often figures in Lander's poetry was the niece, Rose Paynter, now Lady Graves Sawle (ætat 90). But it is not unlikely that the early friendship might have ended in marriage had not Rose gone to Calcutta and become engaged to her cousin, Sir Henry Russell's son."

No doubt the impression, which Mr. Stephen Wheeler, the first authority in all matters pertaining to Lander, deplures has been created by the lines in *The Three Roses* :—

"When the buds began to burst
Long ago with Rose the first,
I was walking joyous then,
Far above all other men.

Till before us 'up there stood
 Britonferry's oaken wood
 Whispering happy as thou art
 Happiness and thou must part."

THE publication of the Marriage Registers kept at St. John's Church, Calcutta, is merely tentative. It would require some years of work, in English and Indian record offices, to render the biographical notes adequate. After 1780 we have the assistance of Dodwell and Miles' *Lists of Civil Servants*, but before that year we have to trace, as best we may, the careers of our civilians through collections of documents which are very far from complete. I have thought it best not to wait the opportunity of making this enquiry more complete, for, imperfect as the biographical notes are, they are the result of a considerable amount of work at unpublished and easily perishable records, and they will at least be found useful by any one who desires to go further into the subjects suggested. Before leaving Calcutta, early in last March, I had transcribed the entries on the Registers, and written nearly two-thirds of the notes; and I had been counting on another month or two in Calcutta wherein to correct the proofs by the original Register. Owing, however, to the weak state of the Chaplain of Shillong, whom I was appointed to relieve, I had to leave for Assam at once: and consequently my work at the Registers would have been altogether shelved, had not my friend, Mr. E. W. Madge, come to my aid, and consented to do the work of comparison for me. Mr. Madge has done far more than this. He has been so good as to consult also the old Portuguese Registers at the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Murghihata, and enriched many of the notes I had written by contributions from his own well-filled treasury and added few other notes of his own. The Society, I feel sure, would have me express their gratitude to our late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Andrew Fraser, for the warm approval he gave to the publication of these records, and to two successive Chaplains of St. John's, the Rev. Canon Cole and the Rev. Septimus Scott, for both my own and Mr. Madge's access to the Registers. Nor should I fail to thank most warmly the clergy of the Cathedral in Murghihata for their great courtesy, and learned suggestions.

THE first instalment of "the Chandernagore Papers" requires an apology of a very similar nature. The publication of this collection of documents when completed will be of great interest and not inconsiderable historical value: although "historical value" is, as a rule, the forest you cannot see on account of the trees. The work might perhaps have been better done, so far as my part in it is concerned, if I had shut up all my transcripts

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